ED 373 396 DOCUMENT RESUME EA 025 991

AUTHOR	Dwyer, David C.; And Others
TITLE	Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories. Case #4: Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School.
INSTITUTION	Far West Lab. for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco, CA. Instructional Management Program.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Nov 85
CONTRACT	400-83-0003
NOTE	117p.; Prepared under the "Instructional Management Program". For Volume 1 ("Methodology") and the other case studies, see EA 025 987-994.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Role; *Behavior Patterns; Beliefs; Case Studies; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Early Adolescents; Educational Environment; Ethnography; *Instructional Leadership; Interpersonal Competence; Junior High Schools; Leadership Styles; *Principals; Qualitative Research; Teacher Administrator Relationship; *Urban Schools; Values; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS	*California (San Francisco Bay Area)

ABSTRACT

This case study presents findings from a year-long ethnographic study of an urban junior high school principal. It concludes one of seven studies conducted in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings to investigate the instructional management role of principals. Although previous research offers disparate viewpoints about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series finds that principals can significantly alter their schools' instructional systems and students' social and academic experiences. Using observations of principals' activities and interviews with students and staff, the seemingly chaotic behavior of principals may be construed as purposive. Activities compose nine categories (goal setting and planning; monitoring; evaluating; communicating; scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing; staffing; modeling; governing; and filling in). The purposes or targets behind principals' activities include work structure, staff relations, student relations, safety and order, plant and equipment, community relations, institutional relations, and institutional ethos. Principal Grace Lancaster's routine behaviors involved communicating; scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing; monitoring; and governing. Lancaster's primary target was work structure. Teachers perceived her as a supportive and effective intermediary with the district bureaucracy. Lancaster used her nonauthoritarian leadership style to create a safe, pleasant environment for staff and students, which allowed them opportunities to make choices. (Contains 64 references.) (MLH)

EA

Instructional Management Program

ED 373 396

Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories

Case #4: Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
Bruce G. Barnett
Nikola N. Filby
Brian Rowan

EA 025 991

November 1985

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FAR WEST LABORATORY
FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
1855 FOLSOM STREET · SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA 94103 · (415) 565-3000

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO INSTRUCTION:

SEVEN PRINCIPALS, SEVEN STORIES

Case #4:

Grace Lancaster,

Principal of an Urban Junior High School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
Bruce G. Barnett
Nikola N. Filby
Brian Rowan

This report was supported by a contract from the National Institute of Education, Department of Education, under Contract No. 400-83-0003. The contents of this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Education or the National Institute of Education.

ABSTRACT

This case study presents the findings from a yearlong, ethnographic study of a principal of an urban junior high school. It concludes one of a series of studies in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings undertaken to investigate the instructional management role of principals.

Although previous research offers disparate views about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series of studies has found that principals can significantly alter the instructional systems of their schools and thereby the social and educative experiences of students.

Through hundreds of hours of observation of principals' activities and through interviews with students, teachers, and principals about the antecedents and consequences of principals' activities, we have construed principals' seemingly chaotic behavior as purposive action. Patterns emerge in the analysis of principals' routine actions that reveal their importance for the creation and maintenance of instructional climates and organizations that are responsive to an array of contextual factors.

FOREWORD

> In the past decade public educators have had to learn how to cope with three kinds of scarcity: pupils, money, and public confidence. Of the three shortages perhaps the most unsettling has been the decline in confidence in a profession that for so long had millennial aspirations of service to the nation. (Tyack & Hansot, 1984, p. 33)

Those of us who care about and watch our schools cannot help but notice that the buildings and the students have changed. We need only listen to the experiences that our children report nightly around the dinner table in order to conclude, not always happily, that things are different today. The media report violence in the schools, poor student achievement, and disappointing facts about the preparation and performance of teachers. And recently, a panel of educational leaders, appointed in 1981 by Secretary of Education Bell, concluded that our schools have deteriorated to such an extent that "our nation is at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Into this troubled arena--into its very center--the school principal has been thrust by those who have studied "effective" schools (e.g., Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981). These researchers have successfully resurrected an old maxim: effective principal, effective school. Some proponents of this work have been very explicit about their faith in the capacity of the school principal. One supporter has asserted that:

> One of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together nor kept together. (Edmonds, 1979, p. 32)

Thus, school principals find themselves in the spotlight, expected to shoulder successfully the awesome responsibility of school reform.

Is this a fair expectation? While the effective-school researchers have stressed the importance of the principal in the process of school improvement, other investigators have argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with the improvement of instruction (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979). Similarly, our own reviews of the effective-schools research have recommended caution about its conclusions (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). And at the very time that these scholars are proclaiming the potency of the principal as an instructional leader, principals themselves report decreases in their power and autonomy as school leaders. School administrators claim to make fewer decisions regarding instruction at the building level and they express feelings of isolation (Goldhammer, 1971). And as the theoretical debate continues, principals are being held accountable for students' academic performance and achievement scores. In some instances, parent groups are demanding the removal of principals who lead schools where children perform below expectations on standardized achievement tests.

The Instructional Management Program of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development was created to examine critically the role of the principal in the development and execution of successful instructional programs. We began our work by questioning the common assertions of the effective-schools research. For example, as a basic query, we asked: <u>If</u> successful principals are those who create schools where the climate is safe and orderly, where basic skills are emphasized, where teachers hold high expectations for their students, and where instructional programs are tied closely to carefully monitored objectives, <u>what do principals do</u> to institute and maintain those conditions?

We began our effort to address this question with a careful review of an array of educational and organizational literatures. Subsequently, we suggested a theoretical model that related individual and contextual variables to the behavior of principals, and we speculated about how those behaviors might influence the instructional organization and social climate of a school and, in turn, affect student outcomes (see Bossert et al., 1982).

Guided by our theoretical conception, we then spoke with 32 principals from the San Francisco Bay Area about their work. These long, open-ended interviews produced a wealth of information about the principals' own perceptions of how their behavior as instructional leaders or managers was influenced by their communities, districts, and personal histories. These men and women described their schools' climates and instructional organizations and discussed their efforts to shape the form and the content of instruction and to color the ambience of their schools. From these preliminary forays into the worlds of school administrators, we received a very strong impression: Principals work under diverse conditions and pressures, and they pursue

solutions that affect instruction and student achievement in many different ways.

For us, the public's demand for the improvement of schools and instruction, the ongoing argument about the principal's role, and the promise we saw in the principals' own views about their activities merited an intensive effort to work with principals in their schools. As collaborators, we wanted to gain a realistic understanding of their role and of the limits of their responsibility in attaining more effective schools.

Probing the Workaday World of Principals

As a first step in achieving such an understanding, we invited five of the 32 principals whom we had interviewed to join us in an eight-week pilot study. Our purpose was to observe principals in action, validating their spoken stories on the one hand and gaining direct knowledge of their activities on the other. The five principals represented Blacks and Whites of both sexes from schools with diverse student populations, differing socioeconomic contexts, and varied approaches to instructional management. As we studied these principals, we were able to field-test our primary data-gathering procedures--the shadow and the reflective interview--which were to allow us access to the personal meanings that principals attached to their actions (the design and results of this pilot study are fully discussed in Five Principals in Action: Perspectives on Instructional Management, Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). Our intent during this phase of our program's work was to listen to how principals described both their role in instruction and the conditions and events shaping that role.

After the pilot phase, we contacted 12 more principals, this time selected from urban, suburban, and rural schools, to help us extend our understanding of instructional leadership and management through a yearlong study of their activities. These individuals had all been nominated as successful principals by their superiors. They varied by gender, age, ethnicity, and experience. Their schools ran the gamut from rural to urban, small to large, poor to rich, traditional to innovative. For hundreds of hours we watched the activities of these principals, looking for the consequences of their actions for teachers and students throughout their schools. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a thorough treatment of participant selection, data-gathering procedures, and analysis of data).

A Potent Role in Instructional Management

As we watched our experienced principals perform their daily activities, we also witnessed the uncertain environments with which they coped. We saw that the decreases in the number of students, financial resources, and public confidence to which Tyack and Hansot refer did have an effect on schools. In addition, we documented demographic shifts that moved students in

and out of schools at alarming rates; court actions that had administrators, board members, and teachers looking over their shoulders; and a changing political climate that affected the very conception of what schooling might be. All of these were significant factors in the schools in which we worked. The reality is that educators work in shifting environments that are difficult to predict. Further, there is no reason to believe that the conditions contributing to this uncertainty will disappear.

Against this backdrop, the importance of the principal's role and the limitations principals face became apparent. Figure 1 (see page v) illustrates the principal's key position, bridging context and school, policy and program, means and ends. The principal's importance emerges from that position. He or she has the greatest access to the wishes and needs of district leaders, parents and community members, school staff, and students. With experience and training, he or she has the best opportunity to formulate an image of schooling that is relevant and responsive to those groups and to begin to bring that image into being. We believe that this is exactly what our principals were about: Through routine activities they attempted to bring to life their overarching visions, while at the same time monitoring their systems to keep these visions relevant.

Our principals demonstrated their abilities to tap the wishes and resources of their communities and districts. We observed their capacities to be sensitive to the needs of their students and staffs. But what we found most impressive was their ability to create and sustain an image of what quality schooling might be. Through all of the uncertainty and conflict that characterized their environments, these principals worked to instill their visions in their staffs and patrons, defining a mission in which all might participate. We believe that this may be their most potent role.

Seven Principals, Seven Stories

From our yearlong study of the activities of principals in their schools, we have prepared seven case studies. Each study portrays how the principal is influenced by his or her context. Each study also describes how the principal set about improving or maintaining the instructional program in his or her school. Together, the studies demonstrate the complexities and subtleties of the principal's role. This series contains the stories of:

1. Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School;

2. Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School;

3. Ray Murdock, Principal of a Rural Elementary School;

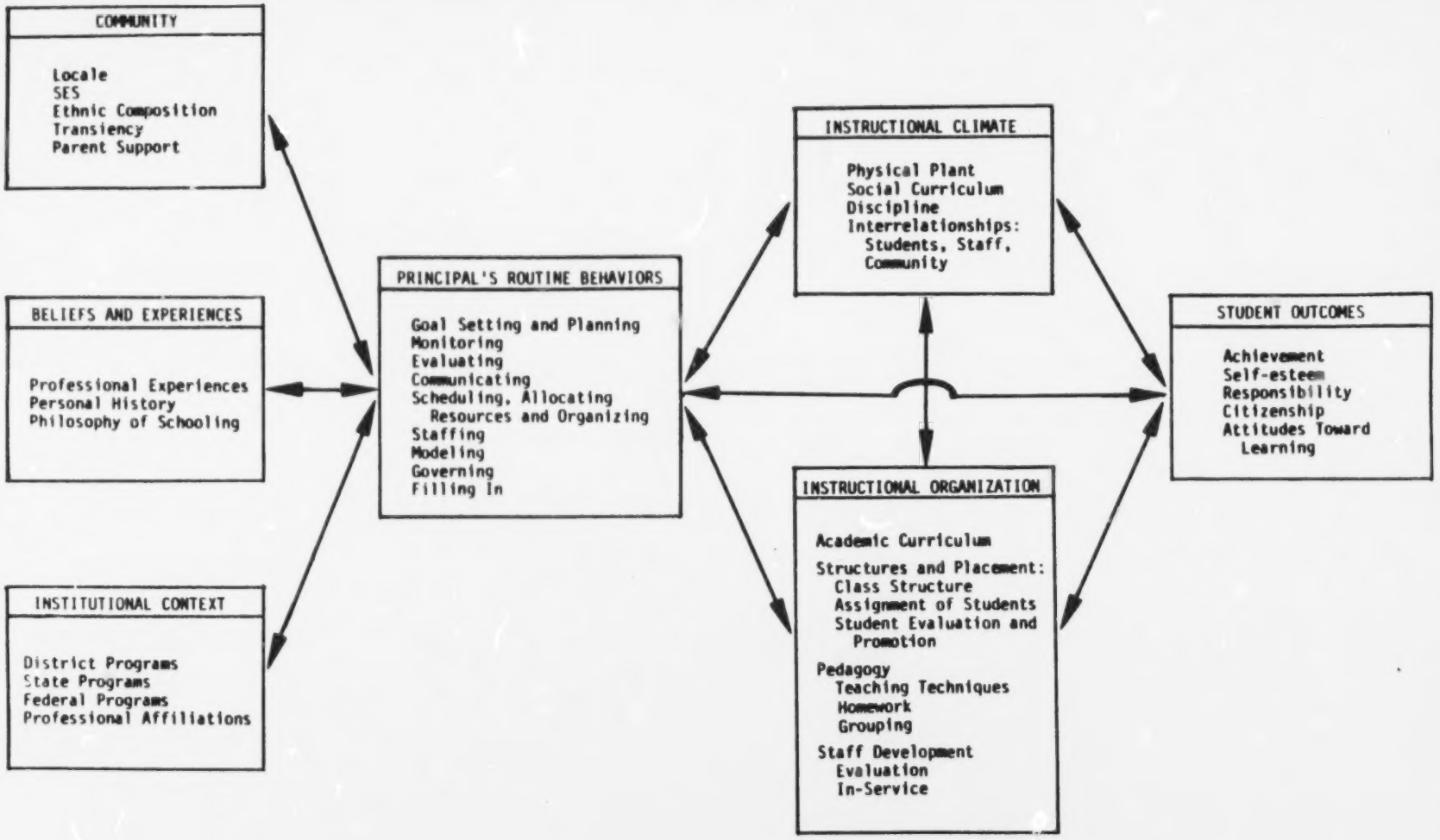

Figure 1: The Principal's Role in Instructional Management

Principals can understand and influence the varied elements of their organizations through the performance of routine activities. Their success hinges on their ability to connect their actions to an overarching perspective of their school settings and their aspirations for students.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

4. Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School;

5. Jonathan Rolf, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School;

6. Florence Barnhart, Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School;

7. Louis Wilkens, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School.

These principals were chosen because of their outstanding reputations and their willingness and their staffs' willingness to work for a year under the close scrutiny of our field workers. We were able to learn about instructional leadership and management from each of them, although their contributions to instruction differed markedly. Some were directly involved with setting the conditions <u>of</u> instruction--that is, working with their staffs to define and coordinate the what, when, where, and how of instruction. The contributions of others were more circuitous or behind the scenes. From those principals, we were able to understand better how some principals can set the conditions <u>for</u> instruction, providing school environments that are supportive of teachers' work and students' learning.

It is important to note, however, that none of these principals is a superhero. Each man and woman made significant contributions in the context of his or her own school, but each carried the foibles and idiosyncrasies that in some form burden us all. Each struggled with the day-to-day realities of his or her own limitations--personal and contextual. The stories will elicit strong feelings within their readers about the relative merit of these principals' actions. Readers will compare one principal to another and, more importantly, to themselves. And therein lies the relevance of these studies.

These cases are not presented as models for others to emulate; on the contrary, they are intended to stimulate personal reflection and to illustrate several lessons that we learned from the hundreds of hours we spent with these men and women and from our own comparisons of their work:

1. **Successful principals act with purpose.** They have an image in mind of the "good" school and of a way to make their school more like that image. They use this overarching perspective as a guide for their actions.

2. **Successful principals have a multi-faceted image of schools.** They recognize that schools comprise many interrelated social and technical elements--from community concerns and district mandates to student/staff relations and instructional strategies. Successful principals stand at the vortex of these

sometimes competing elements, balancing and guiding their organizations toward their goals.

3. **Successful principals use routine behaviors to progress incrementally toward their goals.** Principals are busy people doing many things simultaneously. They design their routines to achieve their purposes. They work smarter, not harder.

4. **The IMP Framework, as it has evolved through the field work, illustrates these conclusions about successful principals.** This framework, shown in Figure 1, provides a useful heuristic device to help people understand the role of the principal.

5. **All principals engage in the same kinds of behavior.** The verbs listed in the "routine behaviors" box of Figure 1 were common to all the principals studied. Furthermore, these routine behaviors were used with similar frequency. Communication accounted for the largest proportion of each principal's actions.

6. **The form and function of principals' routine behaviors varies to suit their contexts and purposes.** Despite the similarity in the categories and frequency of principals' routine behaviors, the variation in their actions becomes apparent when principals are observed at work in their schools. The case studies illustrate this principle in detail, leading to the premise that there is no single image or simple formula for successful instructional leadership.

We believe that researchers, practicing principals, and educators planning futures in school administration will find these volumes provocative.

Although the cases portray seven unique stories, we have chosen to structure them along parallel lines to encourage readers to compare and contrast contextual antecedents, principals' actions, and consequences across them. Each will begin with an orientation to the setting, which describes the school, community, patrons, school staff, and principal. The introduction concludes with a narrative of a day in the life of the principal, enlivening the descriptive information about the school by illustrating how the principal deals with typical situations in his/her setting.

The second section of each study begins by delineating the social and academic goals held by the principal and staff in the school, then describes the elements of the instructional climate and instructional organization that have been created to accomplish those goals. Throughout this section, the role of the principal is underscored by the words of teachers and students from the setting, by the principal's own words, and by the observations of the field researcher assigned to the school.

The final section of each study analyzes the principal's activities, drawing information from the descriptive sections to build and support models that explain the direct and indirect strategies and actions employed by the principals to affect instruction in their schools.

One last note: We are aware of the long-standing debate about whether principals are best described as middle-level managers, coordinating people, materials, and time to meet their institutions' goals, or whether principals are best construed as leaders, wearing the lenses of their own experiences and values, sharing their visions of means and ends, and enlisting support to accomplish their goals. From our experiences with principals, we do not feel that the leader/manager distinction helps us better understand their work. We saw our principals act sometimes like leaders, sometimes like managers; many times, however, we could attribute either role to their actions. Reflecting the overlapping nature of these role distinctions in the day-to-day actions of principals, we use the words interchangeably throughout these studies.

Acknowledgements

There is a multitude of people to thank for their contributions to this extensive study. The principals, staffs, and students who freely gave their energy, graciously tolerated our presence, and patiently answered our questions over the period of a school year are first and foremost on this list. Our agreement to protect their anonymity, however, prevents us from listing these important contributors by name (all proper names used in the case studies are fictional). It is self-evident that the project would not have been possible without their goodwill and their sense of responsibility to our efforts.

Next, 11 research interns in three states spent over 1,500 hours in these schools. They trained and prepared for each phase of data-gathering, relentlessly applied each procedure, and performed the necessary and painstaking documentation procedures after each of their school visits and observations. All of the interns were graduate students who had to weave our program's research activities into their already crowded personal agendas. Alphabetically, they were: Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Steven Foster, Susan Goodwin, Albert Kuipers, Patricia Kunke, Maralee Mayberry, Barbara McEvoy, Gail Mladejovesky, Susana Munzell, Sherri Schulke, and John Wilson. The twelfth field researcher was Ginny Lee, a research associate of the Instructional Management Program, who wore multiple hats throughout the project, including site coordinator, writer/editor, and planning and training assistant.

An extremely competent secretarial staff, which included Sharon Hansen, Peter Grace, Ann Wallgren, Carrie Kojimoto, and Claudia Long, monitored and filed data, made sure that interns kept up with the necessary bureaucratic work, and transcribed--

painfully--a seemingly endless stream of interviews. The program would have floundered early on without their consistent support.

As the project's field phase was completed, several staff members took on new roles and additional staff joined the program to assist with the development of the computerized data base, analysis, writing, and/or final document preparation. Christine Baker, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry read and re-read hundreds of pages of data, assisted in the development of our tagging scheme, and entered text data into the computer system implemented by Patricia Terry. Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry made invaluable contributions in the preliminary phases of the writing of the case studies. In the last critical phase, Jean Barker and Kenneth Warren wrote final copy and oversaw production of the eight-volume set.

My colleagues, Bruce Barnett, Steven Bossert, Nikola Filby, Ginny Lee, and Brian Rowan each contributed their expertise to the design and implementation of these studies. They, in conjunction with Carrie Kojimoto, assumed major analytical and writing tasks as our ambitions to fully utilize the rich data set grew and grew.

Lastly, the National Institute of Education funded this study during an era of tight resources, supported the program's efforts throughout, and helped create the visibility and professional networks that will ensure the use of this project's findings. Michael Cohen and Marianne Amarel were the project's monitors, and we especially thank them for understanding the utility of this kind of in-depth study and for supporting the project during every phase of its development.

David C. Dwyer
Project Director

CONTENTS

Foreword.....i

Section 1: An Introduction to the Setting and Its Actors.....1

An Overview.....1

The School and Its Context.....1

Emerson's Students and Parents.....3

Emerson's Staff.....6

Emerson's Principal.....8

A Day in the Life of Grace Lancaster.....10

Summary.....20

Section 2: The Principal and the Instructional System of the School.....21

Emerson's Social and Academic Goals.....22

Social Goals.....23
Academic Goals.....25

Emerson's Instructional Climate.....27

Physical Components.....27
Social Curriculum.....31
Discipline.....33
Interrelationships.....38

Emerson's Instructional Organization.....44

The Content of Instruction.....44
Structures and Placement.....47
Pedagogy.....53
Staff Development.....57

Summary: Emerson's School Ethos.....61

Section 3: Patterns and Processes in the Principal's Role as Instructional Leader.....65

Finding Instructional Leadership in Principals' Routine Actions.....65

Lancaster's Enactment of Instructional Leadership.....70

Establishing the Instructional Climate.....78
Establishing the Instructional Organization.....85

Conclusion.....89

References.....91

FIGURES

Figure 1: The Principal's Role in Instructional Management.....v

Figure 2: Student Ethnicity at Emerson.....4

Figure 3: Years of Teaching Experience of Emerson's Staff.....6

Figure 4: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Behaviors.....72

Figure 5: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Communicating.....74

Figure 6: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing.....75

Figure 7: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Monitoring.....76

Figure 8: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Governing.....77

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SETTING AND ITS ACTORS

An Overview

The first section of this study attempts to give the reader a general impression of Emerson Junior High School and its context. We believe that this narrative introduction is necessary if the reader is to understand fully the description and analysis of the instructional system presented in the subsequent section of the study. The introduction itself begins with an account of the physical aspects of the school and the surrounding community. This account is followed by a description of the school's parents and students. Next, the general characteristics of the school's teachers are delineated. The focus then turns to the school's principal, telling in brief her history, her educational philosophy, and her thoughts about the role of a principal. Having shaded in these broader contours, we subsequently take the reader through a day in the life of the principal, recounting in as much detail as possible what she encountered during a typical day at school.

The School and Its Context

Overcrowding was common at Emerson Junior High School, one of 14 intermediate schools in the urban district of Waverly, which enrolled almost 50,000 students. The school occupied an entire block in a mostly residential area of this industrial city. Bordering the school on three sides were modest single-family homes. Several more residences, a couple of abandoned storefronts, a dry-cleaning establishment, and a church faced it from across a narrow avenue, which was constricted further by the many cars parked along the curb (SO, 6/28/83, p. 1).* Usually, traffic flowed slowly but steadily along this street, but on rainy days, parents attempting to pick up students after school had to contend with genuine traffic jams (FN, 9/21/82, p. 19).

---

*Throughout these sections, the reader will encounter parenthetic notations describing the type of data cited, the date of collection, and the page number of the record from which the quotation was taken. The abbreviations used to identify the data types are: FN for field notes; SO for summary observations; TI for tape-recorded interviews; I for interviews that were not transcribed verbatim; IOI for Instructional Organization Instrument; SDI for School Description Instrument; SFI for School

The main building of the Emerson complex was originally an elementary school and dated back to 1913. An annex was added in 1927, and both of these were renovated in 1939 to meet safety standards. In 1961, ten years after Emerson became a junior high school, two classroom annexes, a gymnasium, and a suite of industrial arts classrooms were added to the site (SDI, 1982, p. 2; FN, 9/9/82, p. 23). Later, six additional "portable" classrooms were built behind one of the classroom annexes, completing the Emerson complex. Except for these six units, the other buildings clustered around a central patio area where the students congregated at lunchtime. A half dozen trees, each surrounded by benches, shaded portions of the otherwise blacktopped patio. Four picnic tables, two of them painted in bright red, white, and blue designs, provided additional seating (SO, 6/28/83, p. 2).

Like the patio, the school's playing fields were also blacktopped. One field, nearest the portables and other classrooms, contained basketball hoops and standards. The other, adjacent to the gymnasium, was used for track, baseball, and football games (FN, 9/13/82, p. 11). A tall, slightly rusted chain link fence with several gates enclosed the fields. Although Emerson's administrators adhered to the district's closed campus policy for junior high schools, they allowed these gates to remain unlocked during school hours (FN, 9/13/82, p. 4; SO, 6/28/83, p. 2).

Inside the school, differences in the design of the classrooms and hallways attested to Emerson's many expansions over the years. Dented grey metal lockers protruded from the walls of the high-ceilinged corridors in the main building. Decorative wood moldings ran along the walls about seven feet above the floor. In some places, panes of glass above the moldings allowed light from the classrooms to illuminate the corridor. The classrooms in this part of the building had wooden floors and very large, wood-framed windows. By contrast, corridors in the newer annexes had low ceilings, ceramic tile walls, and flush-mounted beige lockers. Classrooms in these annexes were built in more contemporary styles and included metal-framed windows and fluorescent tube lights (SO, 6/28/83, pp. 3-7).

Even with the annexes, Emerson's plant was too small for the number of students it served. The lack of space affected the organization of the school in a multitude of ways. For example, nearly all of Emerson's teachers shared their classrooms, and

---

Features Inventory; and Doc. for documents that were produced within the broad instructional system in which each school was embedded. (For further explanation of these varied data, see the companion volume, Methodology.) For example, a quotation taken from an interview on October 8, 1982, would be followed by the note: (TI, 10/8/82, p. 34).

most were not able to use their rooms during their conference periods. Indeed, several teachers had no space to call "home" and were required to migrate from room to room as often as five times during the day (SO, 5/19/83, p. 1). The library, too, was so crowded that the librarian had adopted the practice of issuing numbered tickets to 35 students each morning, allowing them to use the facility comfortably during the noon period (FN, 9/9/82, p. 24). The main office was no exception. Staff members using the copying and thermofax machines, students seeking help with problems, and parents arriving for conferences or meetings often found themselves in traffic jams.

Despite the crowded conditions, Emerson enjoyed a strong, positive reputation within its own attendance area and within the Waverly district as a whole. The district's open-enrollment policy allowed 30 students from outside Emerson's attendance area to enroll each year. About 225 applications for those 30 openings were received for the 1982-83 school year (FN, 9/9/82, p. 1). Emerson's principal reported that one elementary school teacher encouraged his students to apply to Emerson by driving them to the school to obtain the necessary application forms (FN, 10/5/82, p. 18). Another indication of the school's reputation was that two nearby colleges regularly placed their education students at Emerson to practice teaching in an urban setting (TI, 9/9/82, p. 26). The principal reported that, despite the demands of this urban setting, these novices "always prefer[red] the experience at Emerson" to their subsequent semester of practice in suburban schools (FN, 9/9/82, p. 22).

Emerson's Students and Parents

Although many of Emerson's 1,200 students seemed only as mature as elementary school children, others were well on the way to adulthood. Some of the boys sported mustaches, and some of the girls were mature enough to be mistaken for staff members. One of the assistant principals said that occasionally she had to reprimand girls dressed inappropriately. She laughingly described a student's attempt to persuade her that a thigh-length sweat shirt should be considered a dress (FN, 9/29/82, p. 6). Some of the students required pregnancy counseling (FN, 9/29/82, p. 16), and others, as indicated by a 15-year-old girl who was already the mother of two, required parenting skills (SO, 9/13/82, p. 15).

During the 1982-83 school year, the racial and ethnic composition of Emerson's student body was 42.2% Black, 30.7% Asian, 18.6% White, 5% Spanish-surnamed, and 3.5% other (see Figure 2 and SDI, 1983, p. 2). About 20% of these students lived in comfortable homes supported by professional parents. Others dwelled in public housing (FN, 9/9/82, p. 23). The district's evaluation report for Emerson indicated that, during 1981-82, 17.8% of the school's families were recipients of Aid to Families

with Dependent Children (AFDC). This figure was considerably below the district average of 41.8% for the same year (Doc., n.d., p. 1).

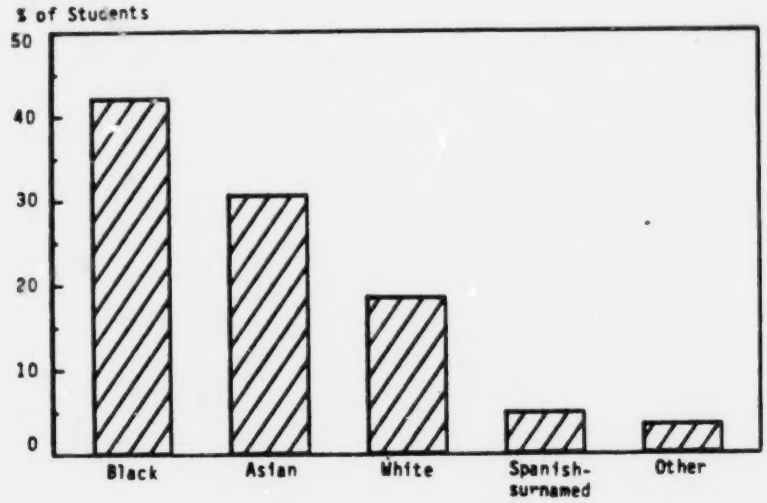

Figure 2: Student Ethnicity at Emerson

One teacher remarked that the social or economic status of students was independent of race (I, 5/2/83, p. 8). Nevertheless, ethnicity was a strong bond among students. On the patio during lunch, students tended to eat with others from the same race or ethnic group (FN, 9/29/82, p. 13). Two instructors reported clashes between native born, limited-English speaking Asian students and foreign born, non-English speaking Asian students. These teachers also commented on tensions between Asian youths and the school's Black students, saying that some Asian students were afraid to be tutored in English by Black peers (I, 6/10/83, p. 6).

Two assistant principals spent most of their time supervising and disciplining students. One of them reported that in one month 12 disciplinary incidents were serious enough to require resolution at district-level meetings (I, 6/14/83, p. 4). At the same time, however, Emerson's administrators and teachers agreed that the majority of the school's children were "good kids" when compared to the district population as a whole (SO, 9/8/82, p. 6; SO, 9/9/82, p. 43).

As indicated by the May 1982 Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), Emerson's ninth-grade students ranked nationally at the 56th percentile in reading, the 65th percentile in mathematics, and the 60th percentile in language. The eighth-grade students scored at the 59th, 62nd, and 57th percentiles for the same three categories. Seventh graders were at the 56th, 62nd, and 54th percentiles (Doc., n.d., pp. 5-7).

Every spring, seventh-grade students also participated in the district's Basic Competencies Assessment Program. These tests measured how well students had mastered specific learning objectives. A student demonstrated mastery by answering correctly 70% or more of the questions. Test results in the spring of 1982 showed that 95% of Emerson's seventh graders had mastered reading, 95% had mastered written expression, and 96% had mastered mathematics for their grade level. Corresponding scores for the district as a whole were 77%, 76%, and 74% (Doc., n.d., p. 8).

One could not, however, generalize about student attitudes toward academics at Emerson. There were students who came to school early to study computer skills (FN, 2/24/83, p. 3) or to check their algebra homework (I, 5/6/83, p. 8). Some used their lunch hour and time after school to catch up on missed work (I, 5/2/83, p. 8). But others frequently missed classes or failed to complete assignments. Each year some eighth and ninth graders were retained for having earned insufficient credits. Teachers estimated that perhaps as many as 10% of the students in the class of 1982 were retained (SFI, 5/17/83, p. 5; SFI, 5/24/83, p. 5).

Emerson's administrators and staff actively sought to build and maintain positive relations with parents in the community. They welcomed visits from parents of sixth graders who were interested in coming to Emerson. Some parents (typically the more affluent ones who were considering private school for their children) requested, and were granted, guided tours; most parents had their questions answered by the principal (TI, 9/9/82, p. 11; FN, 2/24/83, pp. 1-5). In addition, Emerson's PTA provided a forum for parents to discuss issues and learn more about the school. A particularly active parent group within the PTA sponsored parent "rap" groups and various entertainments throughout the year (FN, 9/9/82, p. 8).

Parent involvement at the school did not, however, extend into classrooms (SFI, 4/26/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/2/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 6). One teacher mentioned that in the past, when Emerson emphasized individualized instruction, parent volunteers did work as instructional aides. But because the school no longer stressed this method, in-class parent participation had diminished. Parents did, however, continue to support teachers by supervising students and by providing transportation for school field trips (TI, 4/25/83, p. 6). Parents also participated in a program called "Rap Up," which was headed by a parent of former Emerson students. This program offered students an opportunity to discuss their concerns and problems with other students in groups moderated by adult leaders. "Rap Up" had been in operation at Emerson for 10 years (FN, 9/29/82, p. 15).

Through these activities, parents had come to understand and appreciate Emerson's program and staff. The principal, Grace Lancaster, mentioned that parents often reported that the school

had helped their youngsters (FN, 9/8/82, p. 9). One parent demonstrated her appreciation by donating $50 to help support the school's music program (SO, 6/9/83, p. 3). Summing up the relationship between the school and its parents, Principal Lancaster said, "Our parents are supportive, because most of them like our school. We've built up a reputation over the years" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 11).

Emerson's Staff

During the 1982-83 year, Emerson employed 50 teachers. Five of these taught in the special education program and 45 were in the regular program. Of the 50, three (one special education and two regular) were half-time teachers. The group was 72% White and 64% female (IOI, 3/30/83, Part III). Two assistant principals, four counselors, a librarian, and a school nurse provided support for the teaching staff.

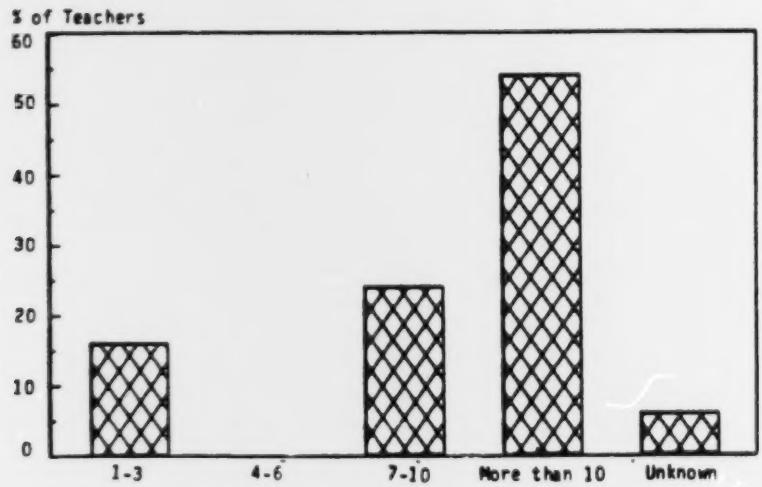

Figure 3: Years of Teaching Experience of Emerson's Staff

Emerson's teaching staff was, by and large, an experienced one. Two teachers were in their first year, and only 16% of the teachers had fewer than three years of teaching experience. Twenty-four percent had 7 to 10 years of experience; 54% had taught for over 10 years. Information was unavailable for two teachers or 6% of the total (see Figure 3 above). Of the 39 teachers with seven or more years of experience, 21 had been at Emerson for seven or more years. Two math teachers had spent all of their professional careers (21 and 24 years) at the school, and another member of that department had been at Emerson for 32 of his 33 years in teaching. Each of the four counselors had at least four years of experience at the school. The librarian was in her sixth year at Emerson, and the nurse had worked there for 11 years (IOI, 3/30/83, Part III).

Emerson's teachers were, on the whole, tolerant and supportive of each other. One teacher compared Emerson to a school in which she had previously taught by noting that teachers at Emerson were less inclined to speak negatively or critically about each other (SO, 5/24/83, p. 3). Another teacher commended the willingness of his colleagues to accommodate a variety of ideas about how schools and classrooms should operate (SO, 6/16/83, p. 8).

Several parties, held annually, provided opportunities for staff members to socialize with each other. For example, the entire staff, including classified personnel, celebrated Christmas and the end of the school year with parties. Each party had its own traditions: a grab-bag type gift exchange at Christmas; a square dance in June. On both occasions, individuals volunteered to bring food, and participants eagerly anticipated certain traditional favorites (SO, 12/17/82, pp. 1-11; SO, 6/16/83, pp. 7-8). Besides these major events, there were also periodic group lunches and potluck dinners planned around seasonal or ethnic themes.

While most of Emerson's staff regularly participated in social activities, a number of individuals on the staff were not integrated into this network. Some of these avoided the faculty lunchroom/lounge, and others chose not to attend parties. Many of these teachers were regarded by other staff members as complainers, grouches, or lazybones. However, some of these isolated individuals held responsible positions in the school's formal organization. For example, one teacher who was described by the principal, fellow teachers, and the secretaries as a difficult, dictatorial person was chair of a curricular department (FN, 10/7/82, p. 25).

Almost all of the teachers, however, spoke highly of Grace Lancaster, Emerson's principal. Some described her as "supportive," "accessible," "humane," "not nitpicky," and a "strong leader but flexible" (TI, 4/25/83, pp. 8-9; TI, 4/26/83, p. 5; TI, 5/2/83, p. 9; TI, 5/19/83, p. 6). According to others, she "trust[ed] the teachers," and "want[ed] the best for the students here" (TI, 5/12/83, pp. 4-5; TI, 5/17/83, p. 11).

When asked about the principal's goals for the school, one basic skills teacher answered by quoting one of Lancaster's favorite phrases, "Something for everyone" (TI, 4/25/83, p. 8). Others agreed that the principal's primary objective was to maintain a variety of classes and activities for the youngsters attending Emerson. Teachers supported her in this effort, in part because they found her commitment to a strong elective program unusual. An industrial arts teacher said:

> She <u>wants</u> the electives here. I've talked to people who are in other junior highs where the principal had actively tried to get rid of shops and art. . . . I think she wants this overall educational [experience] where kids

> have a large selection. I mean, how many junior highs in Waverly offer German, French, and Spanish? . . . And then we have art, we have metal, we have shop, we have home ec., we have other electives. (TI, 5/7/83, p. 15)

The vocal music instructor indicated that Lancaster's support of electives was extremely generous:

> She allows me practically anything I ask her for. . . . She really knocks herself out to get the physical kinds of things that I need. . . . She allows me to take the kids off campus to perform, and sometimes she gets flak for that because they miss other people's classes. And yet, she feels that the kids are getting enough of a benefit doing that, that it's worthwhile missing classes. (TI, 5/12/83, pp. 4-5)

In general, despite the inconvenience of working under crowded conditions and with dwindling resources, most teachers spoke positively of their students, perceived their administrators as supportive, and derived personal satisfaction from their work. Many of them credited their satisfaction to their principal, calling her "the best I've had" (TI, 5/24/83, pp. 4-5).

Emerson's Principal

Grace Lancaster, Emerson's principal for the past 12 years, had spent virtually all of her professional years in education in the Waverly School District. In 1953, with three years of teaching and substituting experience behind her, she began her career with the district as a teacher of business education at Waverly High. After three years, the principal there asked her to assume some counseling responsibilities, and from 1956 to 1959, she was a teacher-counselor. During this period, she was encouraged to work on an administrative credential. In 1959, she became vice-principal at Del Prado Junior High School where she remained for four years. She returned to Waverly High as vice-principal for another four years. In 1967, she was sent to Stonefield High as vice-principal and dean of girls. Finally, in 1971, she was appointed principal at Emerson Junior High following a community screening process and final selection by superintendent William Randall (TI, 3/17/82, pp. 2-4).

A lively 63, Grace Lancaster attended to the day-to-day details of Emerson's operation with a great deal of zest. She spent much of the day in the corridors, on the patio, in the students' cafeteria, and in front of the building talking to teachers, parents, and students. As she listened to the concerns of members of her school community, she often tilted her head to one side and placed a hand on the other person's arm to give him her full attention. She stressed the importance of these

informal encounters by saying, "You have to be available and you have to be visible . . . and approachable" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 29). In fact, in her view, schools were "service-oriented" institutions in which "people are the most important" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 32).

Consequently, she was concerned with all manner of students' and teachers' problems. It was common for her to help a student locate a lost item (FN, 10/7/82, p. 4), learn how to work the combination on a locker (FN, 9/20/82, pp. 2, 13; FN, 9/29/82, p. 15), decide about a program change (FN, 9/21/82, p. 19; FN, 10/7/82, p. 24), or write a speech for some occasion (TI, 6/8/83, p. 3). When dealing with disciplinary problems, she was unlikely to "throw the book" at a student; instead, she attempted to look below the surface of the unacceptable behavior by inquiring, "Why did you do that?" Her goal was not to excuse problem behavior but to understand the circumstances contributing to it and, if possible, to treat the problem at its source (FN, 10/7/82, p. 26).

Similarly, she believed that to work successfully with staff members she had to be flexible. Sometimes this meant permitting them to take care of personal business during lunch or conference hours (FN, 10/7/82, p. 1), or excusing them from staff meetings because of unavoidable personal conflicts (TI, 5/24/83, p. 4). She even drew up the master schedule of classes with conference hours arranged to accommodate teachers' family responsibilities or other personal needs (SO, 10/7/82, p. 51).

Because she did take the time to attend to seemingly minor issues as they arose, and because there were approximately 1,300 persons in her school every day, the demands on Grace Lancaster's attention and time were innumerable. Virtually no conversation with Lancaster occurred in a totally private setting, and interruptions by parents, students, and other teachers were common. According to Lancaster, this state of affairs required that she "be able to accomplish three things at once" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 29).

Emerson's teachers found it necessary to adjust to Lancaster's constant flurry of activity. One teacher said that Lancaster had an attention span of about "one minute" and that "if you need to bring a matter to her attention, you had better do it within the first minute of the conversation or you wouldn't get the chance" (FN, 9/9/82, pp. 6-7). However, despite having to accommodate Lancaster's hectic pace, most felt that she "listen[ed] to everybody" (TI, 5/17/83, p. 16) and, more significantly, that she remembered details of incidents and conversations with remarkable accuracy, sometimes jotting notes in shorthand to stimulate her recall (SO, 6/9/83, p. 1).

In addition to her emphasis on providing a variety of activities and classes for students, Lancaster was adamant about having a staff that could "relate" to students (TI, 3/17/82, p. 13). For Lancaster, the personal interaction between teacher and

student was the backbone of a positive educational experience. She felt that personalized attention not only helped improve academic performance, but that it improved performance in the personal sphere as well. To this end, she sought staff members who could appreciate and address the special needs and concerns of adolescents. She encouraged her staff to use a variety of activities and materials in their daily teaching. She also expected teachers to provide direct instruction in their lessons, and she frowned upon excessive use of seatwork (TI, 3/17/82, p. 20). One teacher summarized the outcome of Grace Lancaster's approach to education in terms of the experience of students at Emerson:

> When the kids pass out of here . . . they have had their humanness enhanced because of the contact with her and the effect that she's had [on them] through the teachers, too. (TI, 4/25/83, p. 9)

A Day in the Life of Grace Lancaster

Principal Grace Lancaster had developed a style of management that, in her opinion, brought to life her vision of what a school should be within the context of Emerson Junior High School and the industrial city that it served. Some of the salient features of that context were: an ethnically diverse student population, a crowded facility, a lack of resources, and an experienced teaching staff. This section presents a typical day for Lancaster at Emerson as seen through the eyes of an observer who attempted to record only those incidents directly involving the principal. The "day" as it appears here is in reality a composite, made up of segments drawn from several different days. The incidents, however, are representative and create a vivid and accurate impression of life at Emerson. This close-up view describes Lancaster's interactions with students, staff, and parents, and it also illustrates how political, demographic, and financial factors influenced the actions of Emerson's principal.

Every morning before classes began at Emerson Junior High School, the main office was a flurry of activity. All of the school's 50 teachers passed through the office to pick up keys and mail; substitutes dropped in to determine their assignments; and new staff members attempted to accustom themselves to their new surroundings. Overseeing all of these activities was Emerson's principal, Grace Lancaster. Standing behind the counter in her two-piece dress, Lancaster conveyed a sense of being in command. As she observed the comings and goings, she also filled out assignment sheets for substitutes, answered staff members' questions, and because it was still early in the school year, oriented new staff members to school routines. This morning, a new science teacher questioned Lancaster about supervisory responsibilities, and Lancaster briefly described the school's policies, concluding her description by saying, "Any little help is appreciated."

Yet, despite all the demands on Lancaster's attention, her style was personable rather than businesslike. She made it a point to greet each of her teachers, and she even took the time to hold brief conversations with some of them. She smiled as she inquired about their families, and while she talked, she placed one hand on her listener's arm, creating a momentary bond amid all the surrounding bustle. Her interactions with staff on this morning were typical: She received information from teachers, reminded them of meetings, heard their stories, and told them any news. She also loaned her keys to a student teacher, Becky Johnson, so that the young woman could unlock a campus gate and store her motorbike in a safe place off the city streets.

At 8:30, with 15 minutes remaining before the start of first period, Lancaster left the main office to help supervise students as they went to their classes. She assisted several students who were having problems opening their lockers, and she coached one seventh grader through the various turns and stops of the combination lock until he succeeded in opening the dented metal door himself. On the lower level of the main building, Lancaster stopped in the girls' rest room to tell four girls that they would be late for class if they didn't hurry.

As she was about to go out onto the grounds, Lancaster was called back to the main office by a signal of two rings on the school's bell system. In the office, one of the two secretaries informed her that the substitute for an absent teacher had not yet arrived. Lancaster then asked an English teacher standing nearby who had a first-period conference hour if she could help cover the class. The teacher said that she would be available in a few minutes. In the meantime, Lancaster hurried to the classroom, unlocked it, let the children in, and began to look through the absent teacher's lesson plan so that she could start the students on their lesson. As she was looking for the necessary materials, the English teacher arrived. Together with a student, the two women searched the cupboards. When they failed to find what they needed, Lancaster left the English teacher in charge and headed for a social studies classroom to borrow some materials.

On her way to this teacher's classroom, Lancaster stopped to talk with a student who had a toothache and was going to the nurse's office. The nurse was not on campus that day, so Lancaster questioned the girl about the severity of the problem and directed her to her counselor. She then continued to another classroom annex where she borrowed some maps. By the time she returned to the class, the substitute had arrived. Lancaster gave the substitute the materials she had borrowed and proceeded to distribute worksheets to the students while giving them verbal instructions for completing the assignment. At 9:15, approximately halfway through first period, the students were finally at work and Lancaster returned to the main office.

In the main office, Lancaster met the journalism teacher, Helen Young, who was upset because her journalism class had been

combined with her creative writing class as a result of low enrollment in both. She complained to Lancaster that this arrangement was too much for her to handle and did not provide the students with the best learning opportunities. When Lancaster pointed out that the overall increased enrollment at Emerson this year made it difficult to justify small classes, Young's reply was, "You're telling me my class will stay like this for the rest of the year." With a hint of frustration in her voice, Lancaster replied that she didn't see how Young could say that. She went on to add that the final distribution of students to classes had to be settled soon, according to the teachers' contract, at which time they would know if they could separate Young's groups into two sections. She suggested that Young might make the combination work by having the journalism students work on the literature magazine. Young countered by saying that the journalism students expected to put out a school paper as they had last year. She left the office complaining about the lack of support by the English department for school publications.

The ninth-grade counselor and the testing counselor had come into the main office during Lancaster's exchange with Helen Young. Lancaster now spoke with each of them in turn. She described the teacher's problem to the ninth-grade counselor, several of whose students would be affected by any changes in Young's schedule. Then she advised the testing counselor of her latest efforts to obtain a bilingual aide for testing the English skills of new students.

At the beginning of second period, Lancaster looked in on an overcrowded bilingual math class. This was one of several classes in which the enrollment had reached 60 students or more. Substitutes were being provided by the district on a weekly basis as a temporary remedy until a final determination could be made about the size of Emerson's teaching staff for the year. Because of the overcrowding, Lancaster checked these classes on a regular basis to assist where needed and to demonstrate to the regular teacher that she was aware of the problem.

The teacher in the bilingual classroom had divided the students into two groups, one of which would go with the substitute to another room to work. Lancaster hurried to a classroom annex to unlock the room that the substitute would use. The principal then remained in the hall outside the room to direct stragglers and to remind these students not to disturb other classes.

When Lancaster returned to the main office shortly after 10 o'clock, she was told by Jim Lambert, one of her two assistant principals, that a seventh grader had chipped a tooth during a fight. The boy was now in Lambert's office writing out his version of the incident, and Lambert asked Lancaster if she would mind going down to the attendance office for the boy's registration card. As she was about to leave the main office to get the requested card, Lancaster met two new student teachers.

She stopped to ask how they were doing and to have them fill out emergency information cards. She then completed her errand to the attendance office and took the information back to Lambert's office, where the boy was telling Lambert about the fight. When Lancaster entered the room, the student asked her to leave while he told his story because he was going to have to use some bad language, and he didn't want her to hear it. Lancaster closed the door behind her as she moved from Lambert's office to the adjoining main office. There she smothered her laughter and told the two school secretaries what the student had said.

At 10:15, Lancaster received a phone call from the district office concerning the availability of aides to do bilingual testing. The caller wanted to know if she needed a Filipino aide. Lancaster asked the caller to hold while she checked with her testing counselor, who informed her that there were three new Filipino students enrolled at Emerson who needed testing. Lancaster relayed the information and added that she hoped the aide could test other students as well. She rolled her eyes and shook her head as she tried to persuade the caller to give her a firm date on which the aide would show up. At the end of the call, the matter was still unresolved.

When Lancaster emerged from her office a few minutes after this call, one of the secretaries told her that the head of the secondary division at the central office wanted all secondary school principals to bring their up-to-date enrollment lists to the district office immediately. The secretary was clearly annoyed by the message, but Lancaster simply gave her instructions for duplicating the necessary documents. While these materials were being put together for her, Lancaster checked another of her overcrowded classes, this one in English as a Second Language (ESL). Once again, she helped a substitute move half of the group to another classroom and waited until the teacher had the students settled and working before she left.

The return trip to her office took Lancaster past the counseling offices where she stopped to inform the testing counselor of the outcome of her conversation with the person from the district office about the Filipino aide. Back in her office, she took another call from the central office in regard to some Japanese educators who would be visiting the district the following month. Emerson was one of four schools that they had been invited to tour. The caller informed Lancaster that there would be 30 visitors and that they would be at the school all day. Lancaster asked some questions about lunch arrangements and explained the problem of having such a large number of visitors when some of the classes were overflowing with students. She agreed to send the caller a copy of the school's bell schedule and concluded by saying, "Fine, we'll wait for the details and hope there aren't any fights while they're here."

At 10:40, after informing her two assistant principals of her departure, Lancaster was ready to take the enrollment lists to the district office. On her way out the front door, she paused

to help break up a scuffle among three girls in the main corridor. Within a minute or two, the students involved had been taken into the offices of the two assistant principals and the onlookers had been dispersed. The main corridor was quiet again as Lancaster left the building.

It took Lancaster about 40 minutes to complete the trip downtown. About half of the time was spent in the district office building where she commiserated with other principals who had been drawn away from their buildings by this request. She also tried to see the assistant superintendent for secondary schools, a man with whom she had worked for a number of years, to inform him of a child custody situation involving students at her school. Failing to make contact with him, Lancaster explained the situation to his secretary and left with her a thick envelope of documents concerning the case.

When Lancaster returned to Emerson just before the start of lunch hour, a secretary had a suspension notice ready for her to sign. Although most disciplinary matters were handled by the assistant principals, all suspension notices had to be signed by Lancaster herself. She read this one and signed it.

Lancaster then used the few minutes before lunch to make a phone call to the central office to try to straighten out the matter of bilingual aides for the school. She told the secretary there that she wanted someone to "lean on" the director in order to get his approval for assigning to Emerson aides who could speak Chinese and Vietnamese. She explained to the secretary that the assistant superintendent had been to the school himself and had seen the classes. She repeated her name and spelled out the name of the school for the secretary.

At 11:30, Lancaster was ready to supervise the cafeteria during the students' lunch hour. Before leaving her office, however, she handled a special request from a youngster who was looking for a place where he could study to make up some work he had missed. Lancaster explained to him that he could have used the library to study during lunch hour if he had obtained one of the 35 available "admission tickets" that morning. Since he had not done that, she asked if he wanted to use her office. He did, and Lancaster grinned and shrugged at the secretaries as she directed him to a table there.

In the lunchroom, Lancaster relieved one of the campus supervisors, who then went outside to supervise the patio. This left Lancaster and Esther Buckley, the other assistant principal, to oversee several hundred students. Lancaster stood near the rear of the room where she could observe all the tables. As she scanned the room for signs of disorder, she also chatted briefly with Buckley. Several times, she used her police whistle to stop students who had left trash on the floor, had not emptied their trays before depositing them on the stack, or had started to run out of the cafeteria.

About halfway through the lunch hour when the cafeteria was nearly empty of students, Lancaster moved outside to the patio where students generally congregated after eating. On the patio, Lancaster reminded students to keep the picnic tables clean, spoke with youngsters about injuries, and reprimanded a couple who had been embracing each other for inappropriate public behavior. She walked to the playing fields to make sure that the assigned teachers were on duty. Along the way, she paused and greeted many students by name.

As Lancaster returned to the patio area, one of her industrial arts teachers approached her about the possibility of obtaining some adult aides for his art class. He explained that he had been assigned a number of students from special education programs who would benefit from individualized attention. Lancaster informed him that this year the district was funding aides for limited-English speaking students only, and she asked whether he had any such youngsters in this class. When he replied in the affirmative, she said she would try to get him the requested help.

While they talked, the bell ending lunch hour rang, and the students dispersed. Before returning to her office, Lancaster, along with one of the campus supervisors, spent a few minutes picking up the trash that students had left on one of the picnic tables. Then, inside the building, she made a detour past the library to see how the ESL substitute was managing with the group of students assigned to her from another overcrowded class. As Lancaster was leaving the library, the campus supervisor approached her with Kelly, one of the students who had been eating at the messy picnic table. Lancaster asked Kelly if she could do anything about helping to keep that table cleaned up; Kelly protested that her friends had made the mess. Lancaster asked her to see if she could influence those people to do a better job.

In the main office, Lancaster met Becky Johnson, one of Emerson's student teachers, whose motorbike had been vandalized by some students the week before. Johnson had come to deliver a note thanking Lancaster for her help following the incident. Lancaster took Johnson into her office and explained that she had told her professional sorority about the situation. As she spoke with Johnson, Lancaster fumbled in her purse, and finally she withdrew a piece of paper. She handed it to Johnson and said that her sorority sisters "asked me to give you this $50 check." Johnson thanked her over and over saying, "Oh, this is really going to help. This is twice as much money as I have saved away now. I really appreciate this." After giving Lancaster a big hug and telling her that she would be happy to help with chaperoning or supervising, the young woman left with a big smile on her face.

Esther Buckley then entered Lancaster's office with two girls in tow. One of them, Debbie, explained that she had gone home for lunch and had run into her friend Jennifer, who was visiting

from Washington. Debbie wanted to know if Jennifer could go to her afternoon classes with her. Her request was put forth in a pleading tone that suggested, "If you do this for me, I won't ask for anything else." Lancaster first questioned Debbie about her afternoon schedule. She then asked her why she had left campus without permission during lunch, which was not allowed at Emerson. She also wanted to know what Jennifer was doing in town all alone, where she would be staying, and how she had gotten here. Finally, she asked directly whether Jennifer was a runaway. The girl swore she was not, that she was supposed to be staying with her aunt. Lancaster asked for the phone number and, a couple of minutes later, repeated the request to check the girl's truthfulness. During the afternoon, Lancaster would try the number several times, unsuccessfully. In the meantime, Lancaster decided that Jennifer should go to her aunt's house and wait there for her aunt. Debbie should go to her classes. The girls could see each other after school.

Since it was now almost one o'clock, Lancaster decided to retrieve her lunch from the refrigerator in the women's lounge down the hall. Returning from the lounge, she met a police officer from the division of the police department that handled school problems. Although the man was on campus to talk to Jim Lambert, Lancaster stopped to chat with him about Emerson and other schools in the district at which she had worked.

The remainder of Lancaster's lunchtime was not without interruption. She took a phone call from an elementary principal who wanted to know if the two schools could exchange some supplies of colored paper. She returned a phone call from one of the district's high school principals who needed some information about a student who had graduated from Emerson. And she tried to follow up on the conversation with Debbie and Jennifer by phoning Jennifer's aunt, whom she could not reach.

While Lancaster spoke on the phone, one of the secretaries entered to give her a note. As soon as Lancaster finished talking, she went out to the office to greet Dr. Adam King from the central office. Dr. King would be involved in decisions concerning Emerson's need for additional staffing. After ushering Dr. King into her office, Lancaster showed him her enrollment figures for each class section and indicated to him what staff she thought she would need in various subject areas. He told her that a meeting would be held the next day at the central office and that he thought he could help her.

During their conversation, they were interrupted by two staff members. A man who had been substituting at the school for several days poked his head in the door to tell Lancaster that he was leaving for his new assignment. She wished him good luck at his new school and added, "You'll need it." After the teacher had gone, the secretary from the attendance office dropped by in response to a high school principal's request for information about a former Emerson student. Dr. King left at 1:45. When he was gone, Lancaster asked the secretaries what had been going on

in the building when he had arrived. They told her that he had entered during the passing period when the halls were full of students.

A boy entered the main office and told one of the secretaries that the boys' bathroom downstairs was locked. Lancaster intervened, "Are you sure?" When the boy replied in the affirmative, Lancaster went downstairs with him. Standing outside the bathroom, she told him to try the door. He did, but used his foot to hold it shut. This did not escape Lancaster who said, "Now try it without your foot on the bottom." When he did, the door opened. Two boys were on their way out. Lancaster asked if they had been holding the door shut. They said that they hadn't, and she didn't challenge them; her tone of voice, however, indicated her displeasure at having her time consumed by such matters.

Back in the main office, Lancaster met the vocal music teacher who was looking for a student locater card. Lancaster directed her to the counseling office, where the secretary or grade-level counselor would be able to help her. Jim Lambert then stepped into the main office from his adjoining office, took Lancaster's hands in his own, and said in a humorous tone of voice, "Can we pray together?" She led him to her office, where he explained that he would be dealing with several sensitive discipline cases that afternoon. He described the three cases for her, each of which involved some form of battery or threatening on the part of the student. Lambert wanted to be sure that Lancaster was aware of the situations because he realized that these parents might want to contact her or the central office. Later in the day, Lambert would follow up on this conversation by telling Lancaster what had happened in the meetings.

At 2:30, Lancaster had an appointment with Amy Winthrop, a mathematics teacher who was new to Emerson this year. Her classes included eighth and ninth graders at both average and remedial levels. Lancaster wanted to discuss the teaching objectives that Winthrop had submitted several days before for review. Along with the objectives, Winthrop had also given Lancaster a note expressing her dissatisfaction at being assigned to one of the "portable" classrooms near the upper playing field.

Lancaster began the conference by referring to Winthrop's elementary school experience. She particularly wanted to know if the teacher used to "lump" all of her teaching objectives together. When the teacher said that she had, Lancaster pointed out that, for junior high, the objectives should be stated separately for each class level. She went on to say that Winthrop's statements of expectations about what percentage of students would master various objectives needed to be reviewed. In some instances, her 80% expectation might be too low, and in others too high. In addition, Lancaster had misgivings about the type of test Winthrop wanted to use as evidence of student achievement. District goals in math were stated in terms of the

CTBS, and Lancaster was not sure about the comparability of the test cited by Winthrop. Lancaster then showed the teacher some examples of appropriate objectives written by other math teachers. Winthrop asked if she could have a few days to rework her objectives, and Lancaster agreed.

The conversation now turned to Winthrop's problems related to her classroom assignment. Winthrop said that the "portable" classroom was in a location where students tended to "hang out" before classes or passed by during class on their way to the outdoor P.E. area. In both instances, students were noisy, called out to their friends in her classroom, and used bad language. She also complained that the room was excessively cold in the morning and hot in the afternoon. Lancaster quietly pointed out that no space was available in the main building. She added that if there were problems with students outside, Winthrop should call the main office and someone would be sent to help. Winthrop responded that things had been better that morning with Lambert outside supervising. When she had left, Lancaster told the secretaries of Winthrop's request for a "better" classroom. The women chuckled knowingly: With some of the new teachers sharing rooms with three, four, or five other people, Winthrop was lucky to have a room of her own.

Shortly before the end of sixth period, a student entered the main office with a note from Helen Young saying that a student in her class had jabbed another student with a pen. As Lancaster read the note, Lambert glanced at it, too, and asked, "What's she doing about it?" He left to go down to Young's classroom, and Lancaster decided that she had better go, too, since she knew that Lambert was "on the teacher's case." Together, they entered the room and briefly discussed the situation with Young. The two administrators then stood in the corridor waiting for the bell to ring for the end of the period. Lambert told Lancaster that he thought it was simply a "management problem" on the part of the teacher. As he spoke, the bell rang, and students began to leave. Lambert stopped the two students who had been involved in the incident. Lambert told one of them, "We don't do things here that way," and then he dismissed her. He then called Young out of the room and told her that she should phone the girl's parents. Young made a face at this suggestion, and the administrators left.

Lancaster's next stop was the sidewalk in front of the building where she supervised students leaving campus at the close of each day. Both students and teachers knew that they could find Lancaster here, and this was a time for them to bring her their special requests. One student wanted to know if he could change one of his classes to a easier level. His counselor had told him he would need the principal's permission. After listening to the boy, Lancaster told him to leave a note in her mailbox stating his request. This was a typical strategy for her to use. Lancaster greeted other students, parents, and school staff who were leaving. One special education teacher stopped to speak with her about an idea he was exploring for obtaining

computers for his students. When Phil Wittaker, the math instructor who taught a computer course, emerged from the building, Lancaster brought him into the conversation.

During these interactions, Lancaster also monitored the surrounding area. When she saw two carloads of older boys drive onto the parking lot of the church across the street and park at the far fence with their radios blaring, she stepped inside the building to see whether Lambert could investigate what was going on. Finding him in conference, she asked another male teacher to take a look and give his opinion. While he was doing so, Lambert emerged, surveyed the scene, and walked across the street to talk to the boys. Lancaster accompanied him. The boys were doing nothing unusual, so Lambert and Lancaster returned to the school grounds.

Once most of the students had left, Lancaster was free to return to her office. Inside, she found Laura Chang, the volunteer who managed "Rap Up," an eight-week student discussion program. The mother of two former Emerson students, Chang had been involved in this special program at Emerson since its inception 10 years before. She helped recruit volunteers to act as facilitators for small groups of students that met once each week over lunch to discuss school and personal issues. Chang also managed the student signups and assigned students to groups. Chang consulted frequently with Lancaster, keeping her informed of how the program was proceeding. Today, they discussed which groups would be best for some of the new Asian immigrant students.

Before leaving campus for the day, Lancaster stopped by the gymnasium to listen to an audition by a band that hoped to play at Emerson dances. Lambert was supervising the audition. By the time Lancaster reached the gym, the group had finished playing. She asked Lambert whether they were good, what they would charge, and what kind of music they played. The administrators discussed the problem of finding live musicians who would appeal to the various racial and ethnic groups at Emerson, each of which had its own musical preferences. Lancaster herself had been responsible for restoring activities such as dances to the junior high when she was appointed principal 12 years before. Now, even though her assistant principals were responsible for student activities, she still kept abreast of them.

The final stop of the day for Lancaster was her office. Today, as usual, she was the last person to leave. She picked up her coat and handbag and took a last look around to make sure everything was in order. Then she turned off the lights and secured the door of the main office. The night custodian, who was sweeping the corridor, greeted her; despite the demands of the day, Lancaster's manner was cordial as she paused to chat and joke with him before heading for home.

Summary

Emerson Junior High was a large school (1,200 students) located in the heart of Waverly, an industrial community in the West. The school served a mixed racial and ethnic population drawn mostly from a lower middle-class neighborhood. Its building was overcrowded, and its program hampered by too few materials and shrinking budgets. Yet Emerson maintained an excellent reputation and drew far too many applicants for its few open-enrollment slots. Parents of the school's students were supportive of the academic program and helped to expand its extracurricular offerings.

The school's 50 teachers were an experienced group who supported Grace Lancaster, the principal. Lancaster insisted on a diversified instructional program to ease the difficult task of keeping adolescent youth interested in school. Further, she actively sought staff members who were open and responsive to the special needs of junior high students. In her dealings with students and staff, she attempted to take the personal needs of others into account. This focus on the individual needs of staff and students was a reflection of her belief that schools should be "service-oriented" organizations in which "people are the most important" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 32).

Lancaster watched over Emerson's varied programs by maintaining a high level of visibility. She spent much of her day outside her office, always ready to listen to the concerns of others. Because of her leadership style and because of Emerson's large enrollment, Lancaster was constantly on the move, responding to problems as they arose. And she was seldom able to resolve one issue before another demanded her attention. The personal interest that she took in Emerson's day-to-day operations and in the concerns of staff, students, and community was an important factor in both the school's reputation and the high level of satisfaction expressed by those who worked with her.

THE PRINCIPAL AND THE INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous section, we introduced the reader to the school's setting, staff, and clients. We also attempted to bring our descriptions to life by allowing the reader to walk the halls with the principal, observing events as she experienced them. In this second portion of our study, we describe various elements of Emerson's instructional system, and we recount the manner in which the principal's activities influenced, or failed to influence, each aspect. Again, our purpose is to reveal the role of the principal in the complex task of managing instruction at the building level.

The array of elements that we describe as parts of the instructional system may surprise some readers, for we envision the instructional process as involving much more than didactic interactions between teacher and student. The technical and social aspects of instruction are created, to a great extent, by teachers and students in classrooms, but instructional processes are affected directly and indirectly by social and organizational features of the school itself. The school, in turn, is affected by its larger context. For example, opportunities and constraints for participants in schools derive from state and federal regulations, districtwide programs and policies, as well as from circumstances imposed by the communities within which schools reside. In addition, each participant in the schooling process brings to a building or classroom his or her own history of experiences and his or her beliefs. These personal and idiosyncratic elements of school organizations also greatly influence the nature of instruction and student experiences (Dwyer, 1984). In the first section of this study, we illustrated how these factors interweave to form the context in which we view principal's behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors.

But to describe completely--or even satisfactorily--the complex blend of individuals and contexts that make up a school, we must, in some rational fashion, untangle policies, programs, individual proclivities, services, operating procedures, and even building designs. In order to accomplish this analysis, we must make distinctions, slicing organizational wholes into arbitrary and discrete pieces. The problem with any such dissection, however, is the artificial creation of categories. In the day-to-day events in the schools of our studies, no such distinctions occur; boundaries blur through multitudes of interactions and

interactional effects. Nor can our "surgery" be guided by previous work. Prior research has failed to set forth a single, generalizable model of schools--the successes of the extant models are hinged to the specific purposes of the authors' analyses (e.g., Charters & Jones, 1973; Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Gowin, 1981; Metz, 1978; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968).

Our strategy in facing this problem is twofold. First, whenever possible, we have allowed our incisions to be guided by the practical sense of the principals and teachers with whom we worked, using those categories mentioned frequently by them or used by them in planning. Secondly, in order to illustrate the permeability of our categories, we have taken every opportunity to describe how the different parts of our model affect one another. The unavoidable consequence of this latter tactic is some redundancy. We hope the reader will be understanding and patient.

This section, then, begins with a description of the overall goals of the school and proceeds to an examination of the social or climatic factors supporting or interfering with realization of those goals. It also describes the technical or organizational aspects of instruction at the school that either harmonize or clash with those goals.

Emerson's Social and Academic Goals

John Dewey (1916) asserted that as a society advances, the need for formalized education increases. Knowledge grows exponentially, its accruing bulk rapidly outpacing any single individual's capacity or opportunity to gather it all firsthand. Schools, in response, are appointed to pass on the experiences, achievements, and values of a society and to prepare individuals to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. As a result, children, through schooling, come to link the past to the future. Schools also serve a custodial purpose. Children constructively occupied as learners permit their parents the freedom to earn a living and secure a home. This multitude of purposes and responsibilities often finds expression through the social and academic goals that principals and teachers set for their students.

Grace Lancaster believed that the school should address the needs of the whole child, and the phrase "something for everyone" was a favorite of hers in speaking about the goals she held for Emerson (TI, 4/25/83, p. 8). This orientation was the result not only of Lancaster's values or philosophy of education but also of her long experience in schools. Students in high school, she explained, were not likely to attend school if they felt alienated. Junior high students, on the other hand, often had nowhere else to go, and even the most uninterested would attend school (SO, 5/12/83, p. 1). Lancaster hoped that Emerson could provide all students with the kinds of classes and activities that would keep them interested and involved.

Social Goals: The person who spoke most emphatically for social goals at Emerson was Grace Lancaster. To some extent, her views were shaped in response to the school's student population. She believed that the mixture of students from various kinds of backgrounds--socioeconomic, cultural, ethnic--represented the "real world" and that learning to live in the world meant learning to relate to others. For minority students, this goal included learning "how to operate the power system" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 5). In addition, she was aware of the ways in which schools' responsibilities for their students' well-being had changed over the years. These factors all added up to the need, she said, to "do all we can for kids," including trying to "make the kid feel good about himself" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 6).

One way Lancaster implemented her social goals was by striving to hire teachers who genuinely liked students and wanted to teach them, as she believed young people could not learn unless they were working with a humane teacher in the classroom (TI, 3/17/82, p. 6). Fully 75% of the teachers at Emerson had been hired during Lancaster's tenure as principal, and she was able to exert pressure to redirect teachers she didn't like. As one teacher said:

> She does weed out faculty members. We've had some . . . a couple of lulus here that I think Mrs. Lancaster was sent by the district--she gets rid of them after they've had a chance, and I think that's important because we've had a couple of people that just do not belong. And it would be detrimental and she's able to see that and send them on their way. (TI, 5/19/83, p. 7)

Over the years of her leadership, Lancaster had communicated her priorities to her staff not by directives but through the programs and decisions she had implemented: the "Rap Up" program, the student lounge, the dances and assemblies, and the wide range of electives geared toward student interests (TI, 3/17/82, pp. 7-8). Teachers also had numerous opportunities to observe her interactions with students as she addressed student groups in assemblies or classrooms and as she dealt with individual students in the main office, the corridors, the cafeteria, and on the grounds.

Teachers' comments revealed that they were very much aware of their principal's child-centered view of schools. They spoke of her wanting "the best for students," wanting them to have "an overall education," being "a student advocate [who] really cares about kids a lot," and emphasizing "socialization and learning to get along well with other people" (TI, 5/2/83, p. 9; TI, 5/7/83, p. 15; TI, 5/17/83, p. 14; TI, 5/19/83, p. 8). The emphatic manner in which teachers provided these descriptions was an indication of Lancaster's effectiveness in communicating her beliefs about social goals.

Most teachers shared Lancaster's concern in this area, and their statements revealed a keen awareness of the needs of junior high students. A number of teachers emphasized the theme of fostering cooperation and social interaction skills. Sometimes the nature of the class made these skills imperative: One woodshop teacher pointed out that for safety reasons it was essential for his students to learn to interact appropriately in the shop as they worked on their individual projects (TI, 5/7/83, p. 4). And a drama teacher mentioned that students in her class were required to work together on their scenes and other dramatic productions (TI, 5/19/83, p. 1). To encourage teamwork, other teachers made a special effort to use group projects as one of their instructional strategies. An English teacher, for example, organized her seventh-grade classes into clusters of students who stayed together to work as a group for most of the year (SO, 5/19/83, p. 4). The importance of fostering cooperation among students of different cultures at Emerson was stressed by several teachers (TI, 5/7/83, p. 4; TI, 5/17/83, p. 5).

Many of Emerson's teachers were concerned about their students' attitudes toward school and learning. One teacher explained that she wanted to interest her students in math so that they could develop the idea that learning was fun (TI, 5/17/83, p. 3). Others mentioned the importance of organizing instruction so that students would be successful in school. They wanted to give students positive experiences that would help them develop confidence in themselves and that would lead them to see that they could be effective in their school subjects (TI, 5/17/83, p. 4). One teacher of remedial students said her students often felt ashamed of their failures, and she sought to improve their self-esteem by helping them develop the reading or writing skills that had not yet "fallen into place" (TI, 5/24/83, p. 4).

Besides wanting students to learn to cooperate with others, enjoy learning, and feel successful, teachers also mentioned that they wished to give students a greater knowledge of the world and to expose them to other people's points of view. One teacher said that she wanted her students "to get an idea that there's more to life than just coming to school each day and trying to write something down and get a grade for it" (TI, 5/24/83, p. 2). She and others saw this need to "stretch their thinking" as essential to the futures, especially the career opportunities, of their students (TI, 4/25/83, p. 1).

The examples cited thus far demonstrate the close links that Emerson's teachers made between social and academic goals, especially when they spoke of the importance of developing their students' interest in the subject matter and their engagement in learning activities. One P.E. teacher said she wanted her youngsters to learn not only how to play sports but how to enjoy them (TI, 5/2/83, p. 5). A science teacher was concerned that her class might be her students' last exposure to the subject unless they acquired enough interest to choose more science classes in high school (TI, 4/26/83, p. 1). Thus, although the

staff's goals might be considered social in that they were concerned with developing students' attitudes and interests, these goals overlapped the academic domain.

Academic Goals: For the most part, academic goals were not a focus or rallying point for Emerson's staff. Even within a single academic subject area, teachers tended to take an individual approach to setting goals for their students with limited input from the district or their departments. Two factors were likely contributors to this orientation of Emerson's staff toward academic goals.

First of all, the academic achievement levels of students at Emerson were above national norms in reading, mathematics, and language at all three grade levels. By seventh grade, nearly all of Emerson's students had passed the district's basic proficiencies test (Doc., n.d., pp. 7-8). Staff members were not, therefore, pressured by low student achievement levels to revise or focus special attention on their academic goals. Many teachers who were interviewed expressed satisfaction with the academic achievement of their students (TI, 5/19/83, pp. 3-4; TI, 5/24/83, p. 3; TI, 5/24/83, pp. 2-3; TI, 5/26/83, p. 9).

Another factor in the variation among staff concerning academic goals may have been the prevailing norm of teacher autonomy at the school. Both administration and teachers regarded academic goals as a matter to be determined by teachers for their particular classes. Recommendations were provided by departments but tended to be very general. The English department, for example, had adopted three objectives: to stress writing, using methods developed by a local university; to provide students with opportunities for sustained silent reading or writing at least once a week; and to work with students on skills needed for the district proficiency exam (TI, 5/26/83, p. 10).

The guidance provided by department recommendations was supplemented by grade-level learning expectations developed by the Waverly School District for several subject areas. In language arts, for example, the district specified over 75 expectations for students in seventh grade. The department chair said that "all seventh-grade teachers, as a general outline, follow this [document]" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 10). Other department members, however, did not refer in particular to these expectations when they described their goals.

Lancaster herself, when asked if there were specific objectives or expectations for grade levels in various subjects at Emerson, first responded, "Not really" (IOI, 3/30/83, Part I). Then she added that the district had provided statements of objectives for students in English and math in terms of gain scores on the CTBS tests. She distributed copies of these district goal statements to staff at the opening faculty meeting and told them to be sure to include the district goals in their own statements of course objectives (FN, 9/8/82, p. 3).

Teachers did not mention improved test scores as such in their descriptions of classroom goals, but many did state the importance of developing basic skills (FN, 4/28/83, pp. 1-4; TI, 5/17/83, pp. 1-2; I, 5/19/83, pp. 5-6, 8; TI, 5/24/83, pp. 1-2). And all English teachers said they thought writing skills were important (I, 3/15/83, p. 6; TI, 5/19/83, pp. 7-8; TI, 5/24/83, p. 4; TI, 5/26/83, p. 10). Improving basic skills, especially writing, was also mentioned by Lancaster as an academic goal for Emerson's students (TI, 3/17/82, p. 10).

Although Emerson's teachers received only general input from their district, principal, and departments, their comments indicated that as individuals they had given careful thought to their instructional goals. All teachers who were interviewed articulated a variety of academic goals for their classes, differentiated on the basis of the experience, skills, and ability levels of their students (TI, 5/12/83, pp. 1-2; TI, 5/17/83, p. 1; TI, 5/19/83, p. 1; TI, 5/24/83, pp. 1-2). This theme of varying expectations for Emerson's heterogeneous student population was also mentioned by Lancaster, who pointed out that "the student outcomes will be different for each different type of student we have in school" (TI, 9/29/82, p. 10).

Lancaster's emphasis on setting appropriate goals for students with different needs was illustrated in a conference she had with a new teacher (described in "A Day in the Life of Grace Lancaster"). As part of her role of evaluator, Lancaster was responsible for reviewing the new teacher's course objectives. In the conference, Lancaster encouraged the teacher to think carefully about the appropriateness of the objectives and mastery levels for each section of her subject and to revise her objectives accordingly. Lancaster's remarks were aimed at helping the teacher establish the highest reasonable level of achievement to be expected of each group (FN, 10/7/82, pp. 11-12).

This observed action by Lancaster was consonant with teachers' comments about their principal's expectations for staff. As one teacher stated, "[Lancaster] pushes for a lot of excellence in education" (TI, 5/19/83, p. 8). Thus, although Emerson Junior High was not organized around specific standardized academic goals, its principal and staff believed that teachers should establish and implement appropriate goals for their students.

The goals that Lancaster promoted in her leadership of Emerson Junior High were a direct reflection of her vision of what a school should be--a place that met the individual needs of students, both socially and academically. She communicated these values to her staff members, and many shared her beliefs, adopting a child-centered approach within their classrooms. Lancaster allowed teachers to exercise discretion in setting social and academic goals, but she apprised them of the seriousness of that responsibility.

The following sections describe how the principal and staff of Emerson Junior High strove to implement their goals, working to create a productive instructional climate and instructional organization. In previous work, we identified climate and instructional organization as avenues along which principals could work to shape and improve their schools (Bossert et al., 1982). During our collaborative field work with principals, we continued to find these two concepts helpful in organizing the multitude of events, processes, and structures that we encountered in schools. Our definitions, however, changed to accommodate our expanding experiences. Again, the importance of these two concepts to our study of the instructional management role of principals is that they illuminate many of the strategies employed by our principals to accomplish the goals they established for their schools.

Emerson's Instructional Climate

In our study, we treat school climate (a notion embraced by all of our participating principals) as an observable and changeable characteristic of schools. For our principals, climate encompassed both physical and social elements. Changing a school's climate could mean anything from painting walls to organizing the way students lined up at recess. The comprehensiveness of the concept can be grasped from one principal's comment: "School climate starts at the curb." In general, our principals perceived climate as a diverse set of properties that would communicate to students that schools are pleasant but serious work places designed to help students achieve. In the following account of Emerson's instructional climate we will describe: a) the physical aspects of the school plant that promote or hinder the accomplishment of social and academic goals at the school; b) the social curriculum--activities designed to promote positive relationships within the school, student self-esteem, and productive attitudes toward learning; c) the school's discipline program; and d) the nature of the interrelationships among all members of the Emerson learning community.

Physical Components: The most significant feature of Emerson's physical plant was its inadequacy for the number of students enrolled. The facility, originally constructed for several hundred elementary school students, had been expanded to serve over 1,000 junior high students. Spaces that still retained their original function, however, had not been enlarged and were invariably overcrowded. In the main office, for example, the space behind the counter was so crowded by the secretaries' desks, copier, switchboard, intercom, and file cabinets that there was barely room for people to move past each other. In the morning before classes started, the reception area in front of the counter resembled a subway stop at rush hour. Teachers trooped through to pick up their mail and their keys, students vied for the attention of the secretaries for help with their lockers or in locating lost articles, and substitutes tried to find someone to orient them. In the midst of this confusion,

Grace Lancaster could typically be found standing behind the counter greeting staff, answering questions, and making sure that things ran as smoothly as possible under the circumstances.

At this time of day, the school library across the hall would be a required stop for any student who wanted access to the facility at lunchtime. To prevent overcrowding, the librarian issued 35 numbered tickets to students on a first-come, first-served basis. Lancaster described this arrangement as similar to waiting for a turn at the bakery (TI, 3/17/82, p. 9). One day a student who failed to obtain a ticket was invited by Lancaster to use her office to study during lunch hour (FN, 10/5/82, p. 21). Similarly, she reported that her two secretaries had collected their own little group of students who preferred to spend lunchtime in the reception area of the office rather than in other crowded areas (TI, 9/9/82, p. 34). Lancaster viewed such examples of accommodation as necessary for managing Emerson's crowded conditions.

At lunchtime in the cafeteria, two long lines of students would wait to be served hot lunches. Outside, on the porch facing the patio, students crowded into more lines to purchase cold food and snacks. Lancaster regarded these situations as undesirable and would have liked to use a double lunch hour arrangement to alleviate the crowding, but she was hampered by the physical arrangement of the school. Most of the classrooms faced the patio area behind the main building where many students ate their lunches and socialized when they had finished eating. The noise from the patio during these activities made it impossible to conduct classes in the nearby classrooms. Hence, Lancaster's alternatives were limited, but as one way of shortening some of the lines at the start of the lunch hour, she had instituted the practice of dismissing half the classes ten minutes early for lunch on a weekly basis (Doc., n.d., p. 1).

Besides the crowding that existed in spaces like the main office, library, and cafeteria, Emerson's physical facility also suffered from a shortage of classrooms. Several teachers shared classrooms that "belonged" to others. Typically these "traveling" teachers would use the room during the host teacher's conference hour. Sometimes the host's teaching assignment freed the classroom for an additional hour or more each day. In this case, the "traveling" teacher might be able to use the same room for two of the five classes he or she taught. There were, however, two new teachers who were each assigned to five different classrooms (Doc., Spring 1983, p. 1). One, a social studies teacher whose department suffered from a shortage of textbooks, sometimes used a shopping cart to move his books across campus (SO, 5/19/83, p. 1).

Teachers varied in their attitudes about sharing classrooms. The young man described above, for example, did not complain about shortages of materials and space when he spoke about his experiences as a first-year teacher (SO, 6/9/83, p. 2). A few "host" teachers grumbled about having to share. One of them

perceived this inconvenience to him as compounded by the administration's practice of using his classroom, which was near the main office, for various kinds of meetings (FN, 9/8/82, p. 7). Although Lancaster listened attentively to such complaints from her teachers, she reminded them that "no one owns the rooms" (FN, 9/9/82, p. 22). And in most instances, she simply did not have alternative arrangements available to her.

The classroom shortage meant that each year Lancaster faced the problem of finding space for class sections as she constructed the schedule of classes for the following year (FN, 6/7/83, p. 19). Unanticipated enrollment at the beginning of the year of this study required her to create new sections and find rooms for them in the already overcrowded building. During the early weeks of school, as substitutes were placed at Emerson and overenrolled class sections were divided into two parts, Lancaster herself frequently assisted the substitutes in moving the students to available classrooms. She would hurry ahead to lead the way for unfamiliar students and to unlock the door for the first arrivals. Then she would stand outside, gathering in the stragglers and reminding youngsters not to disturb other classes in session (FN, 9/20/82, pp. 8-9).

Although the shortage of space inconvenienced Emerson's teachers in some ways, relations among them remained congenial. Since most teachers could not use their classrooms during their conference periods, they usually congregated in the faculty lunchroom, which also served as a lounge. Despite the fact that this room was a crowded, undecorated, windowless space, furnished entirely with formica-topped tables and straight-backed chairs, it was the favorite gathering spot for adults in the building. Here teachers drank coffee, smoked cigarettes, read the newspaper, graded students' work, and chatted with others who were doing the same. Secretaries, clerks, classroom aides, and one of the two campus supervisors also frequented this gathering spot during their work breaks. They participated actively in the conversations, stories, and jokes that were exchanged (FN, 10/11/82, p. 12; FN, 10/20/82, p. 10).

Spaces outside the buildings were also crowded at Emerson. The patio was thronged with students during lunch hour when the weather was good. Limited outside space was also a problem for the P.E. department. To accommodate all of the P.E. classes, teachers had organized a rotation schedule whereby they moved from the gymnasium to the lower playing field to the upper playing field, changing their location every two days. Each location dictated the types of sports and activities that the teachers could use--tumbling, volleyball, dance, and body conditioning in the gym; softball, football, track, and soccer in the lower field; basketball, volleyball, and fitness and endurance testing in the upper field. Thus, instruction in P.E. was shaped by the physical limitations of the facility. Again, teachers did not complain but regarded this constraint as a reality they faced in their work (TI, 5/2/83, pp. 2-3).

Emerson's arrangements for P.E. did, however, have consequences for other teachers at the school. In moving between the gymnasium and the upper playing field, students passed by one classroom annex and a group of "portable" classrooms. Their talk in transit and the tendency of some students to call out to their friends in these classrooms sometimes created disturbances. Lancaster was aware of this and tried to assist with the problem. When one new teacher, assigned to a "portable," complained about students making noise outside her room, Lancaster encouraged her to call the office for help. She or one of the assistant principals would then go out to supervise the students passing by the classroom (FN, 10/7/82, p. 12).

Lancaster's efforts to support staff extended to other areas of the physical plant as well. The previous spring, the vocal music teacher had purchased stage lights with the proceeds from a student concert, only to be told by electricians that the stage was not up to code for using them. Lancaster had made a number of calls to bring the head district electrician out to look at the situation, only to have him say the work could not be done unless they talked to someone in the district accounting office. The teacher credited Lancaster with making sure that the job was given priority at the district office so that it could be completed in time for the students' big spring show. She concluded, "[Lancaster] really knocks herself out to get the physical kinds of things that I need" (TI, 5/12/83, p. 4).

On another occasion, teachers wanted to show a videotape as part of an instructional unit and discovered that the machine was out of order. As Lancaster carried out the rest of the day's activities, she made half a dozen calls to the central office and kept several staff members at Emerson apprised of the progress she was making. But the going was slow: She was shuttled among offices and personnel, told to call back later, and told that her calls would be returned (FN, 6/7/83, pp. 8-23). Although running this kind of bureaucratic obstacle course was often a source of frustration for Lancaster, she nevertheless considered these efforts to be an important avenue for supporting staff. She believed that "you need to know people to get things done" (FN, 6/7/83, p. 14). In this instance, however, her contacts were not enough to accomplish the task of repairing the machine that day. Nevertheless, the effort she made was an indication of the importance she gave to providing direct assistance to staff in obtaining physical resources.

Again, however, overcrowding was the most prominent factor affecting the physical aspects of climate at Emerson. Although Lancaster assumed much of the responsibility for overseeing physical equipment that staff needed in their work, overcrowding was the condition to which Lancaster referred most frequently and to which she attended personally. Allocating classrooms and other spaces at the school in ways that best served Emerson's many students demanded considerable effort from the principal.

Social Curriculum: A staff's level of commitment to, and concern about, children is communicated through words, mannerisms, actions, and activities. These cues, conscious or not, may influence students' perceptions of their own efficacy and of their "belongingness" within their school and classroom communities (Brookover et al., 1973; Fuller, Wood, Rapoport, & Dornbusch, 1981; Getzels & Thelen, 1960). These aspects of school climate are part of the social curriculum of a school. Most of our participants believed that this curriculum was important in attaining the school's social and academic goals.

Teachers and principals often think about social curriculum in terms of discipline programs or extracurricular and structured activities in which children assume responsibility and exercise some authority. Student councils or student aides are examples of activities that might be included under the social curriculum. In addition, teachers may give children classroom time to share personal problems or individual successes with their peers. Teachers might also use classroom activities to promote social goals for children. This section explores several aspects of Emerson's social curriculum and discusses how each supports or hinders the school's social and academic goals. Emerson's discipline program, however, will be addressed in a subsequent section.

Most elements of the social curriculum at Emerson had been influenced by Lancaster either directly or indirectly. In some instances, she was instrumental in initiating and supporting activities that enhanced the quality of students' nonacademic experiences, particularly the school's extracurricular program. In other cases, her influence helped shape teachers' awareness of the importance of integrating social goals into their aspirations for students.

One of Lancaster's favorite programs at Emerson was "Rap Up," a unique feature that she had initiated in her early years as principal. This program provided students with the opportunity to participate in discussion or "rap" groups once a week for eight weeks, with an adult facilitator who was not an Emerson staff member. During an eight-week session, there might be a dozen or more groups in operation, each composed of five to nine students and an adult skilled in facilitating group discussion and problem solving. In these groups, students could discuss issues related to any aspects of their lives. Lancaster worked closely with the program's director, a community member and former Emerson parent, to help place students in groups and coordinate meeting times and locations (FN, 10/5/82, p. 26; TI, 3/17/82, pp. 7-8).

During her tenure as principal, Lancaster had made other changes at Emerson to address the social needs of students and keep students interested and involved in school. She had hired a counselor who trained peer tutors as one way of increasing the guidance services at Emerson (TI, 3/17/82, p. 8). Shortly after assuming the principalship, she had reinstituted dances for

students despite the objections of one of her assistant principals at the time (TI, 3/17/82, p. 7). To give students a place where they could spend time outside of their classes, she had converted a large space near the school cafeteria into a student lounge. Here youngsters could play ping-pong, chess, and other games before school, during lunch, or after school (TI, 3/17/82, pp. 8-9). Adult supervision on the playing fields allowed students to shoot baskets or play other sports during lunchtime (FN, 9/21/82, p. 4). At various times, the school had offered mini-courses in recreational activities such as bowling, fishing, jogging, photography, and swimming, although no such courses were in operation during the year of this study (TI, 3/17/82, p. 9).

Lancaster's belief in the importance of making school a place where students would enjoy spending their time was also a factor in her staffing. She gave priority to finding teachers who liked students and wanted to work with them, stressing the importance of their being able to "relate" to junior high school youngsters. Her effectiveness in doing this can be seen, in part, by the comments of her staff regarding social goals for students, described in an earlier section.

All Emerson's teachers who were interviewed held social goals for their students and addressed these goals in some way through their classroom instruction. In most instances, social curriculum was not a separate program or curriculum per se. Rather, teachers tended to structure their instructional activities so that social goals were integrated with academic goals. Teachers' responsibility for subject matter never took a back seat to their concern for the social development and well-being of their students; concerns about the subject matter itself often shaped social goals. As a result, the strategies used to reach social goals did not consist of specific curricula but rather of choices that teachers made about their academic materials and instructional strategies. These choices allowed staff to incorporate social outcomes into their academic planning.

Engaging students in schooling and providing them with opportunities to succeed were mentioned as important social goals by many teachers. Besides their own beliefs in the importance of these goals, they were also aware that Lancaster disapproved of teachers who awarded large numbers of failing grades to their students (TI, 4/26/83, p. 7). Teachers described a variety of strategies to engage students successfully in academic lessons. They spoke of using demonstrations, hands-on activities, learning games, contests, role playing, simulations, and dramatic presentations by students as strategies for securing involvement (TI, 4/26/83, p. 2; TI, 5/17/83, p. 3; TI, 5/19/83, p. 3; TI, 5/24/83, p. 1). To teach reading and writing, teachers often spoke of looking for materials and topics of particular interest to teenagers. Some mentioned using television and movies as resources (TI, 5/24/83, p. 2).

Lessons encouraging student cooperation were integrated with the usual subject matter. Teachers who wished to improve such interactions among students assigned group activities and projects. Such group work, however, was the exception rather than the rule at Emerson (TI, 5/17/83, p. 3; I, 5/19/83, p. 4).

In general, teachers were able to implement these strategies for reaching social goals without specific support from Lancaster, but in some instances a special project might require the principal's approval and involvement. In one case, near the end of the school year, the vocal music teacher and one of the English teachers arranged an Elizabethan Faire as the culminating activity of an interdisciplinary unit they had taught. Lancaster spoke proudly of the work of these two teachers, who had written the proposal which led to the project being funded by a local educational institute (TI, 3/17/82, p. 14). She allowed the teachers to use the student lounge for two days as the site of the Faire. And she attended the activities, admiring students' costumes and chatting with guests from outside the school including a photographer from a local newspaper and a central office staff member (SO, 6/10/83, pp. 1-2).

Lancaster's emphasis on developing the social curriculum at Emerson resulted from her keen awareness of her students' needs. "Junior high kids are interested in lots of different things," she said (TI, 3/17/82, p. 11); as a result, "you need to provide more [for them]" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 34). Her strategy, therefore, was to promote as much variety as she could, so that students would stand the best chance of being involved and satisfied at school.

Discipline: Although the administrators and teachers in our study included discipline as an important part of a school's social curriculum, the emphasis that they placed on the topic underlies our decision to give student discipline its own section in this report. In giving prominence to the question of discipline, the participants in our study were acting in accord with opinions expressed by scholars throughout the history of American education. William T. Harris (1908), for example, linked school discipline to the "moral education" of the country's children; Abraham Maslow (1954) theorized that children must feel secure--the consequence of being in a safe environment--before they can devote energy and attention to higher order learning; and recently, and just as emphatically, researchers of effective schools have added their voices to the continuing concern about student deportment (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981).

Discipline and attendance policies for all schools in the Waverly district were enumerated on the "green sheet." This was a legal-sized sheet of paper, printed on both sides, which many Emerson teachers kept posted in their classrooms. Four of its six columns pertained to matters of discipline, and all teachers

interviewed were familiar with these policies (SFI, 4/25/83, p. 3; SFI, 4/26/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/2/83, p. 3; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 3).

The "green sheet" identified three categories of disruptive behavior, each successively more severe, and it outlined a sequence of actions for each type. In the mildest category (type "A") were behaviors such as disruption of class, disrespect to staff members or other students, loitering, and littering. The next category (type "B") consisted of items such as fighting, smoking, habitual profanity, and defiance of authority. In the most serious category (type "C") were behaviors such as arson, battery, possession of a weapon, being under the influence of drugs, and stealing. The sequence of actions for type "A" disruptions began with conferences and ended with suspensions only after repeated referrals. Responses to category "B" violations progressed from one- to three-day suspensions for first referrals to reviews by a district panel for repeated offenses. All of the behaviors in category "C" required an automatic five-day suspension, referral to police or school security office, and a district hearing which could result in the student being expelled (Doc., n.d., p. 1).

Although the intent of a district policy of this nature was to standardize treatment of student misbehavior in all schools, teachers and administrators alike acknowledged that discipline procedures at Emerson varied considerably. Teachers differed in their beliefs, orientations, and interpretations of less explicit portions of the district code. As a simple example, the principal pointed out that some teachers did not allow students to chew gum in the classroom while others did (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). Similarly, teachers did not agree on what constituted tardiness: Some required students to be in the classroom and seated when the bell rang, whereas others were satisfied if the student was in the room or about to enter.

Among the administrators, similar differences existed. The principal and her instructional assistant principal, Esther Buckley, both reported that they were most likely to take a "counseling" approach to matters of student misbehavior (TI, 10/11/82, pp. 39-40; IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). In contrast, the administrative assistant principal, James Lambert, was uniformly acknowledged to be the strictest disciplinarian on campus. Of Emerson's administrators, he was the most likely to take a strict interpretation of district policies.

Even Lambert, however, acknowledged that district policies both required and allowed interpretation. For example, students who were scuffling could be seen as "fighting" or "just horsing around"; similarly, he indicated that a number of actions could be interpreted as "defiance of authority." Lambert pointed out that his perception of student intent was often a factor in determining his treatment of an incident. Near the end of the school year, for example, two boys started a fire in a trash can; instead of seeing this as an incident of arson, which would have required automatic five-day suspensions and district hearings for

the youngsters, Lambert chose to interpret it as high-spirited excitement as the school year was drawing to a close, and he merely issued a reprimand (I, 6/14/83, p. 5).

Despite the latitude that district discipline policies allowed, Emerson's teachers perceived the school as an orderly place. "This is not a free-for-all school; this is a disciplined school," one teacher said, crediting this in part to Lancaster's efforts to "[get] rid of the kids that are bad--and I don't know where she sends all of them, but she gets rid of them" (TI, 5/19/83, pp. 6-8). Another pointed out that teachers at Emerson were willing to do their part to help maintain order:

> People seem to care . . . about the whole school and how things go. . . . If I'm in the hall, I'll take care of a problem and deal with it or do whatever has to be done. (TI, 5/2/83, p. 10)

Teachers' efforts to maintain discipline at Emerson were supported by the administrators, who were seen by teachers as willing to respond quickly and appropriately to their referrals and requests for assistance (TI, 5/2/83, p. 11; TI, 5/19/83, p. 6; TI, 5/26/83, p. 16). The two assistant principals were usually mentioned first in comments by teachers, since these administrators were responsible for handling all referrals. Several teachers said that Grace Lancaster was not one to take the role of the "heavy" when dealing with misbehaving students, and they appreciated Lambert's willingness to assume this stance when necessary.

Lancaster, for her part, reported that Lambert had been assigned to Emerson so that she could moderate his approach through exposure to an alternative mode of managing discipline (FN, 9/29/82, p. 19). She often challenged his thinking about cases involving student misconduct, questioning his reasoning and interpretation. One such case involved a student who was a recent immigrant to the United States and who came to Emerson with an excellent record in academics and citizenship from his former school. The boy's mother had told Lambert that her son was having a hard time adjusting to life in this country. The boy had drawn a knife in a fight, and Lambert was called upon to make a recommendation to the district review panel regarding expulsion. Lancaster questioned Lambert about the situation:

> Lancaster: Well, did he stab the kid?
>
> Lambert: No.
>
> Lancaster: Did he hold a knife at his throat?
>
> Lambert: No, but he did hold the kid with one hand and put the knife against his torso with the other.

Lancaster: Well, I don't think this boy is like Joe Smith, who would have stabbed the kid. Or like that kid over at Waverly High School who stabbed a girl in the cafeteria and killed her. (FN, 9/21/82, p. 14)

Such attempts on Lancaster's part were meant to give Lambert food for thought, not to undermine his authority or responsibility. The final recommendation was his to make, and Lancaster would support him. Once, when he had made a decision with which Lancaster did not entirely concur, he asked her directly if she wanted him to change his recommendation. The principal said that she did not (FN, 6/14/83, p. 3). This reply was consistent with Lancaster's description of her leadership style as nonauthoritarian, with her belief in supporting her staff, and with her willingness to accommodate a variety of points of view among the members of the school organization.

Occasionally, a student who had been referred to Lambert would try to appeal to Lancaster's more sympathetic nature. This happened one day when the principal encountered a student crying in the corridor after being sent out of the classroom by her teacher. Not realizing that the girl had been referred to Lambert, Lancaster told her to go to the office and wait for the principal. When Lancaster arrived at the office later, she learned from Lambert that the student had been issued a referral to him. Lancaster immediately turned the case over to her assistant principal, despite the student's protest. When the youngster told Lancaster that she was afraid to see Lambert because she thought he would suspend her, Lancaster told her to go on into Lambert's office and "be good" (FN, 2/24/83, pp. 3-6).

Lancaster's behavior with teachers was similar to her actions with Lambert. She commented that teachers do not always use good judgment with students regarding discipline, but said, "We have to support the teacher" (FN, 9/9/82, p. 24). On one occasion, for example, Lancaster saw a boy teasing several girls who were in the building after school on their way to see a teacher. The girls were squealing and laughing loudly, and as they moved down the corridor, a math teacher poked his head out of his classroom in response to the disturbance. Lancaster assumed that he would quiet the students down and did not intervene. A few minutes later, however, the teacher appeared in the main office with the girls in tow and began to write a referral. When Lancaster realized what he was doing, she told him that the girls had been teased by a certain boy. When this explanation did not deter the teacher, Lancaster did not countermand his decision, but she did make sure that he added the boy's name to the referral slip so that the assistant principal who handled the case could deal with all the offenders (FN, 1/6/83, p. 1).

Although usually Lancaster would not overturn a decision when she thought a teacher had acted inappropriately or used bad

judgment, she would hasten to intervene in a discipline situation if the teacher had not yet taken action against the student. At an assembly, for example, Lancaster witnessed an argument developing between a teacher and a student from another class who had been misbehaving. Realizing that both were becoming increasingly loud and upset, Lancaster stepped in, put an arm around the girl's shoulder, and led her outside to calm her down. Later she told the observer that she thought the teacher had overreacted but that she could understand his behavior given his previous school experiences (FN, 12/16/82, p. 2). Once again, supportiveness was the theme. Whenever possible, Lancaster attempted to resolve conflicts so that there were no losers and no damaged egos.

While the two assistant principals were assigned the responsibility of handling referrals related to student discipline, the final responsibility for safety and order in the school fell to Lancaster. She assigned teachers to supervision during the first weeks of school and, at the opening staff meetings, emphasized the importance of "setting the tone" for discipline right from the start (FN, 9/9/82, p. 25). Of Emerson's administrators, she was the one who most often took phone calls from concerned parents whose children had been disciplined (FN, 10/5/82, p. 2). Both assistant principals were well aware of this and were careful to keep Lancaster informed of sensitive cases; in addition, the principal was required to sign all suspension notices, which she reviewed before sending them to the district office (FN, 9/21/82, pp. 12-13).

On a day-to-day basis, Lancaster was closely involved in the supervision of students. She and Esther Buckley were in charge of the cafeteria during the first half of the lunch hour. In that noisy environment, Lancaster frequently used her whistle to get the attention of students who were running or who failed to empty their trays (FN, 9/21/82, p. 3). During the remainder of the lunch recess, Lancaster helped the the grade-level counselors supervise the patio. Again, the whistle was a handy device for keeping the energetic junior high students from chasing each other (FN, 9/21/82, p. 4). She chuckled as she described its usefulness: "I blow my whistle [at one student] and five or six kids stop" (FN, 9/21/82, p. 3). After school, the principal could always be found on the sidewalk in front of the building monitoring students as they left for the day.

Lancaster regarded her supervisory activities as an excellent opportunity to conduct business with students and staff, and she encouraged other staff to do the same. Supervision made Lancaster easily accessible for brief, informal contacts; everyone knew where to find her during lunch and after school and felt free to talk with her at those times. Many of Lancaster's social and work-related communications took place in this fashion. In such instances, Lancaster personified her statement that the principal needed to be able to do two or three things at once (TI, 9/9/82, pp. 29-30).

In sum, one of Lancaster's goals for Emerson was to provide a safe and secure environment for both staff members and students. As part of that agenda, maintaining order was an important responsibility of the principal and her two assistants. Lancaster's approach to discipline was different from that of some teachers and one of the assistant principals, and she attempted to influence these staff members by her examples and conversations with them. She did not, however, override their actions or decisions in discipline matters. This attitude preserved the integrity of her staff as professionals, allowed discipline policy to be implemented without conflict, and contributed to an atmosphere of mutual support at the school.

Interrelationships: An important element of the climate of schools is the nature of the interrelationships among the members of the school community: the students, staff, and parents. The quality of these day-to-day relationships may be the best evidence of the cohesiveness of a group in its commitment to the organization's goals. Positive relationships among the stakeholders in a school demonstrate fundamental agreement and satisfaction with the means and ends of the organization--agreement that has an effect on the organization's ability to carry out its mission (see Homans, 1950; Janis, 1972; Maslow, 1954; Zander, 1977).

Emerson Junior High was characterized by a diverse student population, but in spite of these differences, relations among students were generally harmonious. Like most young teenagers, they were energetic and noisy--showing off for their friends as they demonstrated dance steps, chasing each other, competing at sports during the lunch hour, and trading stories and jokes with loud voices and broad gestures. At the same time, however, these boys and girls were helpful to each other and courteous to adults. "I can show you," "please," "thank you," and "excuse me" were common phrases in their speech (FN, 9/13/82, p. 7).

Teachers at Emerson interacted with these youngsters in a variety of ways. Some teachers were stern disciplinarians and carried out their policies in a formal and impersonal manner; others were firm and friendly (TI, 5/7/83, p. 6; FN, 5/12/83, pp. 1-4; TI, 5/19/83, pp. 2-3). Still others displayed a nurturing manner (FN, 5/19/83, p. 1). Several teachers appeared to be reluctant to confront disruptive students and relied instead on the administrators (FN, 9/29/82, pp. 12, 13, 17). Despite such differences, teachers at Emerson generally regarded their students favorably and cared about them. When they discussed students in the lounge, for example, teachers often shared their knowledge and experience in an attempt to understand their students' behavior and needs. Griping was relatively uncommon.

As noted in our discussion of discipline at Emerson, the assistant principals, too, varied in their approach to students. Jim Lambert was regarded by students and staff alike as a firm disciplinarian, and students often dreaded being called into his office (TI, 5/26/83, p. 4). Esther Buckley, on the other hand,

was one of the best-loved adults on campus. Students found her to be a sympathetic and supportive ally who was able to carry out her disciplinary role without trampling on students' self-regard (SO, 10/14/82, p. 6).

Emerson's students were also likely to find secretaries, clerks, security staff, and custodians courteous and caring. No matter how crowded the main office became, for example, the busy secretaries were patient and attentive to students' requests (SO, 3/17/82, p. 2).

The quality of interactions that students at Emerson experienced could, to a large extent, be attributed to the efforts of Grace Lancaster. Staff members were aware of Lancaster's concern for the whole student as well as her supportive style in dealing with both youngsters and adults at the school. One teacher described the principal's effect on others in this way:

> She will not allow you to hurt other people's feelings. She will not allow you to shortchange or in any way do something that would hurt the egos and the psyches of the . . . children. . . . Because of that gentleness, when the kids pass out of here . . . they have had their humanness enhanced because of the contact with her and the effect that she's had through the teachers too. (TI, 4/25/83, p. 9)

Lancaster reported that one of the parts she liked best about being a principal was "the kids," whom she described as "exciting, stimulating, and challenging" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 19). Her enjoyment of junior high students was evident in her dealings with them. She was friendly and familiar in her interactions, quick to smile and laugh when appropriate. She often underscored her interactions with physical contact: taking a student by the hand, placing an arm around a shoulder, and placing her hand on a student's arm. Such gestures were always accepted, and often returned, by youngsters.

The principal was highly accessible to students, and she performed a variety of services for them to help meet their physical, emotional, and academic needs. These actions ranged from helping locate lost gym clothes to helping students get into special high school programs when they left Emerson (TI, 6/8/83, p. 2). When asked about their interactions with their principal, students gave examples of how Lancaster had given them personal attention regarding problems with their schedules, teachers, or other students (TI, 5/26/83, p. 3; TI, 5/26/83, p. 3). Several mentioned that she had helped them adjust to being in junior high school (TI, 5/25/83, pp. 2-3). Still others described how she handled discipline situations without being overly severe (TI, 5/25/83, p. 3). Her availability and promptness in providing help were also cited (TI, 6/9/83, p. 4; TI, 6/9/83, pp. 5-6).

These students, in describing Lancaster's personality or style, emphasized her warmth and fairness. One girl stated that the principal "tries to make everybody happy" and "has her arms open wide" to students (TI, 5/26/83, pp. 2, 4). Another youngster, a minority student described by staff members as "rebellious," provided this description:

> She don't try to push [students] around. She's just like, you could say just like your mother, if you ask me. . . . Most principals, they try to be harsh on some of the kids, like different kinds of kids. Miss Lancaster don't take no sides. She's equal with all of 'em. (TI, 5/25/83, p. 3)

Emerson's staff, like its student body, was a large and varied group of people. The school employed 50 teachers, 10 other professionals, and a support staff of 25, most of whom got along well together. One teacher summarized what many others felt when she said Emerson did not have "cliques of teachers and a lot of dissension [like other schools]" (TI, 5/19/83, p. 5). She attributed this in part to Grace Lancaster, who helped select appropriate staff members and who weeded out those who "just do not belong" (TI, 5/19/83, p. 7). The congeniality among staff members could be seen in the teachers' lounge, where most gathered when off-duty. During lunch, nearly all of the 40 seats in this room were filled, and while some people tended to sit in the same groups every day, many others mingled freely. For these individuals, lunch conversations were often opportunities to learn about their colleagues and to share experiences from their own lives.

Most staff members also participated enthusiastically in the annual parties that were an important part of Emerson's social life. The Christmas party and the year-end celebration were well attended by teachers, administrators, and support staff, who exchanged jokes, stories, gossip, and personal conversation. Former Emerson staff members regularly appeared at these gatherings, and they were always greeted warmly and included in the festivities (SO, 12/17/82, pp. 3-4; SO, 6/16/83, p. 8).

Grace Lancaster was an important participant at these occasions, her role akin to that of a hostess. She greeted arrivals, made introductions, and tried to help everyone have a good time (SO, 12/17/82, pp. 3-5, 9). She socialized with teachers, aides, secretaries, and custodians alike, all the while communicating her interest in them as people and her enjoyment of the occasion. One teacher saw Lancaster's egalitarianism as an important contributor to the tone at Emerson and maintained that Lancaster's actions communicated a belief that as principal she was no more important than other staff members (SO, 6/14/83, p. 2).

Certainly, Grace Lancaster was central in shaping and maintaining positive staff attitudes at Emerson. She believed

that teachers should feel happy, safe, and secure in their work, that they should not be bothered by petty details, and that administrators should not act superior to them. As Lancaster explained to new and student teachers in an orientation meeting at the start of the year, "We're here to help" (FN, 9/9/82, p. 25). In describing her own style of leadership, Lancaster stated, "I'm not any different now in my dealing with people than I would be as a classroom teacher" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 18).

Lancaster's emphasis on supporting staff in a nonauthoritarian manner was echoed by teachers in their comments about the principal. Many of them mentioned Lancaster's attempts to locate needed materials and supplies for special projects (TI, 5/7/83, p. 15). Some described her willingness to allow student participation in various activities that took them off campus (TI, 5/12/83, p. 5). Others said she encouraged their attendance at professional development activities such as conferences and workshops (SFI, 4/26/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1). One teacher stated that the principal let them try out new ideas, even if the ideas did not always work (SO, 5/3/83, p. 1). The most common report was that Lancaster would try to provide whatever they asked for (TI, 4/26/83, p. 5).

Lancaster's accessiblity to her staff was also considered important by Emerson's teachers. They said that she always had time for them, that she was not intimidating, and that she was a good listener (FN, 6/9/83, p. 1). They dropped by into her office for both social and school-related chats, and they did not hesitate to approach her in the corridors or on the grounds to bring matters to her attention (FN, 10/5/82, pp. 7, 26; FN, 10/7/82, p. 25). Teachers also called her at home about personal or professional problems (TI, 9/9/82, p. 19). Lancaster believed that it was important for her to be available to her staff in all of these ways (TI, 9/9/82, pp. 19-20).

Because Lancaster was accessible and accepting, teachers often confided in her. The information Lancaster gained often helped her understand others' behavior, especially when stressful personal situations interfered with a staff member's ability to handle pressures at work (TI, 6/22/83, p. 25). Sometimes the information prompted Lancaster to provide assistance. The reader may recall the situation described earlier in which Lancaster obtained a check from her professional sorority for a student teacher who was having financial difficulties (FN, 9/21/82, p. 6).

Lancaster said Emerson Junior High was "like a family" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 17). Warmth and caring characterized many of the interactions among the adults and youngsters who belonged to this "family." Emerson was a place where people were treated as individuals, where, in Lancaster's words, "people are the most important" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 32).

When Lancaster assumed the principalship at Emerson, one of her goals had been to enhance the standing of the school in the

community (TI, 3/17/82, p. 8). A key strategy was to improve the quality of communication between school and community. "She really reaches out to the community," one teacher said, "and I think we need more of that in Waverly" (TI, 5/19/83, p. 5). At an orientation meeting for parents of new students, Lancaster made a point of saying, "If you hear a rumor [about the school], call us and let us know" (FN, 9/9/82, p. 7). When asked about this remark, Lancaster explained that sometimes students misrepresented incidents or situations that occurred at school and she wanted to ensure that parents checked out exaggerated versions of stories (TI, 9/9/82, p. 11).

Lancaster reported that Emerson's reputation had improved over the years to the point where it was now generally considered to be the second best junior high in the large Waverly district (TI, 3/17/82, p. 8). One indicator was the large number of applicants for Emerson's few open-enrollment slots. Another was the active support community members gave the school. Parents and other volunteers assisted with the "Rap Up" program, fund raising activities, a promotion party for ninth graders, "rap" groups for parents, and teachers' appreciation day. Parents also served as chaperones for field trips and dances (TI, 9/9/82, p. 10).

Having established Emerson's good standing in the community, the school's administrators aimed their efforts at maintaining positive relations and developing the support of newcomers. When a community member telephoned or visited the school, for example, Grace Lancaster's typical response was immediate, attentive, and helpful. She always took whatever time was needed to listen and follow through. Sometimes she might spend an hour or more in conference to resolve a problem (FN, 11/10/82, pp. 1-5). At other times she might put the person in touch with someone else at the school, such as a counselor, who was better prepared to handle the situation (FN, 10/5/82, p. 19; FN, 10/7/82, p. 10). No parent concern was treated as unimportant: a question about a child's course schedule for the second semester, a worry about whether a youngster had gotten his lunch, or an attempt to deliver a choral outfit that a young performer had left at home. In all instances, Lancaster made sure that the situation was resolved satisfactorily (TI, 9/9/82, p. 34; FN, 10/5/82, p. 20; FN, 2/24/83, p. 9).

Lancaster was especially attentive to the questions of parents of incoming students about Emerson Junior High. Parents of sixth graders sometimes considered removing their students from the Waverly public school system and enrolling them in a local private church school. Lancaster considered it important to acknowledge parents' doubts, and believed that the best way to assuage them was to let parents and prospective students see the school for themselves. She welcomed parents and provided a campus tour, which included visits to several classes in order to demonstrate that the school was a safe and pleasant environment for children. Lancaster herself conducted these tours,

introducing the parents to other staff members and answering questions (FN, 2/24/83, pp. 1-5).

Even when Emerson's administrators found it necessary to contact parents about discipline matters, they made every attempt to maintain good relations. On one occasion, Jim Lambert began a phone conversation with a mother whose son was being suspended for fighting by reassuring her that the child had not been hurt (FN, 9/20/82, p. 12). If a student's misbehavior was unusual, Lambert let the parent know that he was aware of this. When a parent conference was required, efforts were made to accommodate the parent's schedule (TI, 9/9/82, p. 10).

In contrast with administrators, teachers at Emerson reported infrequent contacts with parents. They sometimes saw parents at various open house events or met with them if the parent requested a conference; some wrote comments to parents about their children's work on the section of the report card designated for that purpose. For the most part, however, teachers seemed to rely on the counselors and administrators for contact with the homes of their students (SFI, 4/25/83, p. 6; SFI, 4/26/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/12/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 6).

Emerson's parents attributed much of the school's success to the leadership of Grace Lancaster, and they supported not only the organization but the principal herself. At orientation day, a mother of twins told the principal that she had been skeptical about sending her children to Emerson, "but when I found out you were the principal, I knew it would be a good school." She herself had been a student of Lancaster's years before when Lancaster worked at one of the district high schools. From that experience, she knew her children would be in good hands at Emerson (FN, 9/9/82, p. 4). Lancaster laughed and joked with the woman as the story was told. Clearly she understood the concerns of parents who were about to send their pre-teenage children to a large, urban junior high, and she also relished the compliment to herself and the kind of school she had shaped over the years.

When the Waverly district announced in May that it planned to move principals, including Lancaster, to new school sites for the following year, Emerson's PTA drafted a formal letter of protest and collected a large number of signatures which they presented to the Board of Education to indicate their opposition to this plan (SO, 5/24/83, p. 2). At the end of the year, the PTA honored Lancaster during a wine and cheese party for the new PTA officers (SO, 6/9/83, pp. 2-3).

Lancaster summed up relations between Emerson and the community very simply. "I think our parents are supportive," she said, "because most of them like our school" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 11).

As mentioned above, we believe that a school's instructional climate encompasses a range of physical and social elements. At Emerson Junior High, the major factor affecting climate was the overcrowding caused by high enrollment. Despite this problem,

Emerson's administrators and teachers created and maintained an orderly environment. Moreover, they were able to promote conditions in which students' social needs were addressed through instructional and extracurricular programs as well as through the quality of interactions that students experienced at Emerson. Similarly, social interactions among the members of the school staff were generally harmonious ones in which individuals were supported, encouraged, and respected as individuals. Members of the community outside Emerson, mainly parents of students, also found the school to be a responsive organization. In many instances, students, teachers, and parents attributed their high levels of satisfaction to the leadership of Grace Lancaster. Her actions in promoting her service-oriented vision of schools clearly contributed to the positive climate experienced by all participants at Emerson.

Emerson's Instructional Organization

Instructional organization is our collective term for the technical features of instructional coordination and delivery to which the principals in our study attended. When acting to improve instructional organization in their schools, our principals manipulated, for example, class size and composition, scheduling, staff assignments, the scope and sequence of curriculum, the distribution of instructional materials, and even teaching styles. We suggest that the instructional climate--the concept we discussed in the immediately preceding section--influences students' and staff members' feelings and expectations about their schools, and that the instructional organization delivers the reality.

In this section, we describe in greater detail the instructional system of Emerson Junior High School, highlighting the content of instruction, class structures and teacher and student placement, pedagogy, and staff development. As in the previous section about the instructional climate, our purpose is to discuss the beliefs and activities of the principal that influenced these important factors of schooling. The reader should recall that the principal's goals for Emerson emphasized meeting the needs of individuals so that students and staff would find school an enjoyable and productive experience.

The Content of Instruction: Curriculum, subject matter, classes, topics, texts, program, schedule, and syllabus are a confusing array of terms often used by teachers and principals to describe what is taught in their classrooms or schools. Although these terms are somewhat analogous, they are not synonymous in that they tend to blur substance, method, and organization. In this section, we wish to discuss the content of instruction at Emerson and examine how that content was organized and determined. In so doing, we are discussing curriculum as Dunkin and Biddle (1974) used that term, as a broad concept for thinking about specific subject areas. But it was, perhaps, Dewey (1916) who best defined the content of instruction and and underscored its importance in his discussion of "subject matter":

> It consists of the facts observed, recalled, read, and talked about, and the ideas suggested, in course of a development of a situation having a purpose. . . . What is the significance . . . ?
>
> In the last analysis, all that the educator can do is modify stimuli so that response will as surely as is possible result in the formation of desirable intellectual and emotional dispositions. Obviously . . . the subject matter . . . [has] intimately to do with this business of supplying an environment. (pp. 180-181)

Students had the opportunity to sample many subject areas during their three years at Emerson. In addition to the core subjects (English, mathematics, social studies, science, and physical education), students could choose from a wide range of electives, including art, crafts, typing, three foreign languages (French, German, and Spanish), homemaking, industrial arts (wood, metal, and drafting), music (vocal, band, and orchestra), and computers.

This broad elective program was one of Emerson's distinguishing features, and teachers credited the principal for its high quality (TI, 5/7/83, p. 15; TI, 5/12/83, p. 4). Grace Lancaster herself said, "I've tried . . . to maintain an outstanding elective program"; she believed that the more electives the school was able to offer, the better chance students had to find some classes that would interest them (TI, 3/17/82, p. 11). The principal pointed with great pride, for example, to the music program. Because of Emerson's large student enrollment, the school was able to sustain sufficient interest in music to employ full-time teachers for both vocal and instrumental music. Lancaster enjoyed being able to tell visitors that over 400 of the school's 1,200 students participated in some sort of music class. Most of these classes included participation in a performing group (TI, 3/17/82, p. 11).

Curriculum implementation at Emerson was most notably characterized by the degree of teacher autonomy in classroom-level decisions. Nearly all teachers who were interviewed and observed were aware of district expectations for their subject area, and many of them added that, at the school level, departments had also developed general statements of objectives and expectations (SFI, 5/10/83, p. 4; SFI, 5/19/83, p. 4; SFI, 5/24/83, p. 4; SFI, 6/14/83, p. 4). Nevertheless, individual teachers at Emerson were free, within these loose boundaries, to develop their own specific objectives for each group of students and to choose the materials to be used to reach those ends.

This practice meant that students enrolled in the same subject did not necessarily learn the same things. In the two

American history classes that were observed, for example, students were using entirely different materials; in addition, the teachers presented their subject matter at different paces (FN, 5/3/83, pp. 1-10; FN, 5/12/83, pp. 1-10). Similarly, one of the math teachers reported that each year she chose from a number of topics for her algebra classes, not necessarily the same choices that other teachers made in the subject (I, 5/6/83, pp. 6-7). In the English department, teachers were expected only to shape curriculum according to the general goals cited earlier: to stress writing using the strategies developed by a local university; to include sustained silent reading or writing in lesson plans at least once a week; and to address the skills that appeared on the district's high school proficiency exam (TI, 5/26/83, p. 10).

Even when the district had adopted textbooks for certain subjects, teachers at Emerson did not feel compelled to use these materials. Mr. Reeves's American history text was not the district choice (I, 5/12/83, p. 6) nor was Ms. Peterson's algebra text (I, 4/26/83, p. 5).

Despite the discretion that individual teachers exercised in determining course content, coordination did occur when specific needs arose. Several years before, students' proficiency exam scores in basic skills had revealed a weakness in writing. The improvement of writing was then adopted as a schoolwide goal, and English teachers were trained in the methods of the Better Writing Project (TI, 3/17/82, pp. 10, 14). Moreover, teachers were encouraged to address basic skills across subject areas, including elective courses. In response, the vocal music teacher and two industrial arts teachers reported that they included at least one written lesson each week in their class activities. Typically these lessons involved vocabulary exercises as well as opportunities to write sentences and/or paragraphs and were evaluated for language usage as well as content (TI, 5/7/83, pp. 7-8; TI, 5/12/83, p. 7).

According to Lancaster, teachers also coordinated their work informally. When students and teachers were reassigned at the beginning of the school year, staff members would tell each other what had been covered in the class to that point. In other instances, staff members teaching a class for the first time received help from other teachers in that department who had taught the course before. The principal did add, however, that in a department such as social studies, where lack of materials forced teachers to use different books, there was little coordination (TI, 10/7/82, p. 37).

For the most part, Lancaster appeared satisfied with the organization of curriculum at Emerson. She did not strive to standardize or coordinate her teachers' efforts, except when specific needs were discovered. Lancaster's position harmonized with the prevailing norm of teacher autonomy that existed at Emerson. As one department head stated, "If we were told that we had to be teaching page 20 on November the 18th, there would be a

lot of rebellious teachers here" (TI, 5/26/83, p. 12). This teacher echoed the sentiments of most of her colleagues. Emerson's policies and practices concerning curriculum were generally viewed as satisfactory by most members of the organization.

Structures and Placement: In the previous section, we described the content of instruction at Emerson Junior High. This section explains how students and teachers were organized to receive or deliver that content. By structures we mean the classifications of instructional groups in schools: for example, grade levels or grade-level clusters, classes or classrooms, or skill-level groups.

Sometimes instructional grouping is largely dependent on the physical limits of a building's architecture. Such factors as how many youngsters fit into a space and how many spaces are available in a school may determine group composition. In other situations, groupings may be influenced by curriculum or achievement levels, as when children move individually from classroom to classroom during a school day. (Within-classroom grouping will be discussed in a later section, "Pedagogy.")

In either case, school-level grouping creates a social context for learning that can have varying impact on any group member. Cohorts of students are established, sometimes with remarkable longevity. Students' progress may be impeded or enhanced; students may become stereotyped as "bright" or "slow" and assigned accordingly; and teachers' instruction may be influenced by their expectations of students' learning capacities (see Brophy, 1973; Brophy & Good, 1974).

Teaching assignments are also an important element of school structure. Such assignments may be based on teachers' previous experiences, expertise, or preferences, or on administrative concerns regarding staff development, staff cohesiveness, or teachers' personalities and/or teaching styles. Bringing together specific teachers with individual students or student groups helps define the social context of instruction and influences the academic experience of children. (See Barnett & Filby, 1984; Filby & Barnett, 1982; and Filby, Barnett, & Bossert, 1982 for descriptions of how the social context of instruction influences students' perceptions and the rate at which materials are presented to students.)

Thus, one of the most familiar aspects of schools--classrooms containing a teacher and a group of students--is a critical factor to successful instruction. The assignment of students and teachers to classrooms or their more fluid counterparts should therefore be a primary concern of principals (Bossert et al., 1983). This section describes the role of Emerson's principal in these decisions.

Students' grade levels and teachers' curricular specialties were the primary determinants of the <u>structure of classes</u> at

Emerson. Except in the case of some elective classes, students were grouped with others from the same grade. Teachers were specialists in one or more curricular areas and generally taught most of their classes within their major specialty. Tracking occurred in English and mathematics, with sections designated for average, accelerated, or remedial students (IOI, 3/30/83, Part I).

Programs for students with special educational needs were also provided. About 145 students were enrolled in the school's ESL (English as a Second Language) program; instruction was provided in both oral and written English at five skill levels independent of students' grade levels, and two or three levels were often combined in a single section (I, 6/10/83, pp. 1-5). Students with learning disabilities were either placed in ungraded, self-contained classrooms with a single specialist teacher or partially "mainstreamed" into regular Emerson classes. The programs of "mainstreamed" students were reviewed by Emerson's Child Study Team to help coordinate the flow of information between the resource specialists and the students' other teachers (IOI, 3/30/83, Part III).

According to the teachers' work contract, the Waverly School District could not assign more than 32 students to a section in junior high schools (FN, 9/9/82, p. 7). Within 25 work days of the start of the school year, the administration was required to "balance" the schedule to eliminate class overloads that may have resulted from unanticipated enrollments (TI, 9/20/82, p. 16). In some instances, teachers at Emerson were willing to take more than the maximum number of students in one section, usually one of the accelerated classes, which, in theory, allowed Lancaster to keep the number of students in other sections below maximum.

Balancing the schedule occupied a considerable amount of Lancaster's time at the start of the 1982-83 school year. When school opened, the principal found herself and her teachers facing many classes above maximum size, including bilingual and ESL classes with enrollments of 60 or more. Lancaster's task was to determine how many additional courses and sections were needed to achieve the best "balance." In doing so, she was required to take into account the district's final staffing allocation for Emerson and the availability of teachers with appropriate combinations of skills. Finding available classrooms for new sections made her task even more complex. Using substitute teachers assigned by the central office, Lancaster and her staff shifted students between classes as new sections were gradually added to the master schedule (TI, 10/7/82, p. 33). Even after the initial "balancing," additional changes were required as late as November (School Bulletin, 10/25-29/82, p. 1). When all the changes had been made, Lancaster had added four teachers and eighteen course sections to the original schedule (Doc., Spring, 1983, pp. 1-4).

Typically, decisions about <u>staff assignments</u> occurred twice during the school year: in the spring, when the master schedule

of courses for the following year was determined, and in the fall, after school started, to accommodate changes in the projected student enrollment. The problems Grace Lancaster faced in planning and in revising the schedule were especially frustrating during the time of this study because a district financial crunch had resulted in layoff notices being distributed to teachers each spring, and because unanticipated changes in student enrollment had been significant for the past two years.

According to the testing counselor, who regularly assisted Lancaster in making staff assignments, the schedule had been 98% balanced prior to the start of the 1982-83 school year. This meant that only 2% of the approximately 1,100 preregistered students would not be able to have all their course requests met by the proposed arrangement of classes (FN, 6/7/83, p. 7). When the year began, however, many new students showed up to enroll, classes quickly filled past capacity, and ESL and bilingual classes swelled to double their usual size.

As previously noted, Lancaster had to work with temporary substitutes for several weeks before the master schedule could be revised and new staff added to the school's allotment for the year. She spent a good deal of her time checking on the progress of these "long-term" substitutes, sent to Emerson by the central office to teach until "permanent" assignments could be made for the year (FN, 9/21/82, p. 5; TI, 10/7/82, p. 20). Lancaster was careful to check each "long-term" substitute's teaching credentials against her general staffing needs, since she did not need new teachers for a full five periods of ESL or bilingual instruction (TI, 10/7/82, pp. 33-35). She also wanted to see how well these prospective "regulars" worked with Emerson's students who came from many different backgrounds. In one instance, the principal was required to dismiss immediately a substitute who used a racial epithet in dealing with an unruly student (TI, 10/7/82, p. 35). Another time, she learned that a certain woman whom she did not want at the school was slated for a possible teaching assignment at Emerson. She prevented this by incorporating into the position one period of P.E. that included supervising the boys' locker room (TI, 10/7/82, p. 36).

Staff assignment problems at the start of the school year were not uncommon in recent Emerson history, and many teachers expressed displeasure at the length of time the district took to determine staffing allotments (TI, 10/7/82, p. 45; FN, 10/20/82, p. 11). They were also frustrated and distressed at what had become a regular district practice each spring, the issuing of layoff notices to large numbers of teachers--a dozen at Emerson the year of this study--as a way of preparing for possible student shortages (FN, 10/20/82, p. 11).

This practice created two problems for Lancaster. First, the number of teachers the district allotted Lancaster for the following school year was much higher than the number of teachers remaining on her official school staff after the dozen had been "terminated." Lancaster's projected enrollment and staffing

figures would permit her to request that nearly all of those who had received the notices be hired back. Adding to her paperwork, the principal had to submit a separate request for each position, according to district policy, and if she wished to have a "terminated" person placed back at Emerson, she was required to frame the position description in such a way as to "tailor" it to the desired individual (SO, 6/7/83, p. 4).

Even after writing a tailored description, however, Lancaster could not "guarantee" that laid-off teachers would be rehired in the fall. She was afraid that in the face of this uncertainty, some of them would seek other kinds of work, yet she was powerless to offer them guaranteed employment. In one instance, she phoned her immediate supervisor in the central office for some statement of reassurance that she could give to her vocal music teacher, a talented young woman who had built a strong program at the school over the past several years. Lancaster's supervisor could only say that he thought it likely that the teacher would have a position at Emerson in the fall, but Lancaster was then able to add his name to her own when she explained the situation to the music teacher (FN, 6/7/83, pp. 14, 15).

Amidst such uncertainty, over which she had no control, Lancaster was required to plan and staff a master schedule of courses each spring for the following academic year. In doing so, she made two kinds of decisions about staff assignments. At a general level, Lancaster determined how many sections each teacher would teach in what subject areas. Here she took into account the staffing allotment figure supplied by the district, based on projected enrollment; the tally of student course requests; the teachers' credentials; and the teachers' preferences. At a more specific level, she assigned teachers to particular sections of courses within their subject areas (e.g., to algebra as opposed to seventh-grade general math). Factors involved in these decisions included teachers' preferences, precedent, and number of preparations, with Lancaster again making the final determination (TI, 6/22/83, pp. 25-31).

When making these decisions, Lancaster also wanted to make the best use of her staff. During the planning of the 1983-84 master schedule, for example, one of Lancaster's strongest social studies teachers requested a P.E. class, an assignment that would have resolved a P.E. staffing problem. After checking personally with the teacher and finding that she really did want a P.E. assignment, Lancaster nevertheless decided that it was not "a good idea" to remove the teacher from the academic area (FN, 6/7/83, p. 11).

In another instance, Lancaster combined the creative writing and journalism classes into one section because of small student enrollments in these electives (about 13 students each). Helen Young, the teacher in charge, was unhappy with Lancaster's decision, since she would have to manage two courses in one class period, prepare for several other classes, and be responsible for

the school yearbook. She was concerned that she would have to teach the combined class for the remainder of the year, and she told the principal that, by not allocating separate sections for the two courses, Lancaster and the English department were showing that they did not support the publications program at Emerson. Faced with this accusation when many of Emerson's classes had enrollments of 60, Lancaster was frustrated at Young's request (FN, 9/9/82, pp. 17-18). Yet she valued Young's contributions to Emerson's English program, and although she was never able to divide the section, she did change the schedule of classes so that Young was given an additional free class period at the end of the day for yearbook production (TI, 10/7/82, p. 35; School Bulletin, 10/25-29/82, p. 1).

Besides trying to put her teachers where they would work most effectively, Lancaster also tried to assign her best teachers to work with the strongest students. She reasoned that these teachers were more willing to do the extra work necessary to meet the needs of brighter students (SO, 1/6/83, p. 5). The math department, in one case, acted counter to Lancaster's preferred strategy by recommending that a second-year teacher be assigned to a section of algebra. After soliciting department members' input, Lancaster chose not to override the recommendation, but she considered the teacher somewhat inexperienced for the assignment and stated that she would have made a different placement had she not asked for department input (TI, 6/22/83, p. 30).

Although Lancaster's discretion regarding staffing was limited by policy and declining enrollments at the district level, she strove to obtain the best possible staff for Emerson and to make the best use of her teachers.

Student assignments were based on a variety of factors. In math and English, students were placed in one of three streams: remedial, average, or gifted. These decisions were made in several ways, depending on the grade level involved. Sixth graders scheduled to attend Emerson were administered tests in English and math by Emerson staff, who then recommended placements. In addition, recommendations of sixth-grade teachers and CTBS test scores were considered. For seventh- and eighth-grade students, teacher recommendations, grades, test scores, and student and parent choices were used to determine placements for the following year (IOI, 3/30/83, Part I). Final assignment to specific class sections was made by computer.

Although English and math were the only two subjects in which students were grouped by ability, classes in other subject areas were often composed of relatively homogeneous groups of students. Science, foreign language courses, and computer instruction, for example, tended to draw high achieving students (IOI, 3/30/83, Part I). As a result, other classes at the same time periods that were supposed to be grouped heterogeneously, such as American history, were often not evenly mixed (I, 5/3/83, p. 6).

Thus, both formal policy and student choices acted to stratify classes at Emerson.

While student placement was handled mainly by counselors and teachers, teachers, parents, and students often approached Lancaster about changing assignments once class rolls had been determined. Several days before classes started, one teacher asked to see her class lists, stating that she wanted to determine the number of globes she would need to teach geography. Lancaster refused the request and told her simply to multiply the number of sections she would be teaching by 32, the class limit size; she knew from experience that if she allowed teachers to see the names of students assigned to them, they would be likely to lobby for changes (FN, 9/8/82, p. 12).

In another instance, a parent phoned Lancaster about his seventh-grade daughter's being misplaced in an eighth-grade English class. Lancaster had spoken with the teacher about it several weeks before, and the teacher claimed that she had informed the student's counselor, but no action had taken place. Lancaster decided to let the girl remain in the eighth-grade class:

> Well, at the end, I just cancelled her change [to the correct grade level] because she was so unhappy [about having to change classes] and found two other students who could have their program changed with less [upset], which really helped the school balance [the classes]. (TI, 10/7/82, p. 44)

In this case, Lancaster's primary concern was how the change might affect the student's feelings. She knew from the teacher that the student was managing to do the work in the class and decided to allow the incorrect placement to remain because it was working for the student.

Finally, students themselves also approached Lancaster about their class assignments, usually after having been told by a counselor that they would need the principal's permission to change a class. Lancaster listened to each youngster's story and took his or her request into consideration (FN, 9/21/82, p. 19). Thus, although Emerson had a well-established set of procedures for assigning students to classes, it was not uncommon for the principal to become involved with individuals' problems in this area, and she considered it appropriate for students and teachers to approach her about such matters.

Teachers at Emerson were generally allowed to exercise discretion in the evaluation of students. Although all teachers assigned letter grades every six weeks, they were free to attach whatever meaning they wished to these grades. According to the principal, only the mathematics department had developed a standard grading policy (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). Lancaster reviewed the teachers' grading policies at the beginning of the

year (FN, 9/8/82, p. 4). Teachers also knew that the principal reviewed their grade reports; one stated that Lancaster frowned on teachers who awarded many failing grades (TI, 4/26/83, p. 7). And the principal herself said that she and the assistant principals identified teachers who were awarding many failing grades so that the administrators could work with them toward improving instruction (IOI, 3/30/83, Part I).

Lancaster had also exercised influence on student evaluation by instituting final exams at the close of the year. One teacher spoke favorably of this practice:

> Time is used well. Instead of giving those kids the last week as free week . . . they have their finals and they know that they count for part of their grades. (TI, 5/19/83, p. 7)

Promotion of students at Emerson was determined by district policy. Seventh graders were never retained; eighth and ninth graders were promoted only if they accumulated sufficient credits. One semester of successful work in a subject was worth half a unit. For promotion to ninth grade, eighth graders had to earn a total of 10 units in seventh and eighth grades, i.e., passed a total of 20 of their 24 semester classes. Ninth graders had to earn five units in ninth-grade subjects to be promoted to tenth grade. Students who failed to meet this requirement could make up as much as one unit by successfully completing summer school. If a student was too old to be retained in junior high school and had 4.5 units at the end of ninth grade, he or she could move on to a continuation high school. Lancaster stayed in close communication with the grade-level counselors who were responsible for monitoring students' progress, and when the ninth-grade counselor put the list of prospective non-graduates together, Lancaster was able to explain to parents the student's record, the reasons for his or her failure, and the options available (FN, 6/7/83, p. 23). The principal was opposed to retention, however, and said she didn't think it helped students (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). When she reviewed the list near the end of the school year, she said that it was ridiculous that a ninth grader who had passed all of his high school exit proficiency exams was being retained for failing to earn enough passing units at Emerson (FN, 6/7/83, p. 10).

Pedagogy: Lortie (1975) wrote the following about the ideals of teachers:

> Teachers favor outcomes for students which are not arcane. Their purposes, in fact, seem to be relatively traditional; they want to produce "good" people--students who like learning--and they hope they will attain such goals with all their students. . . .

> We find that the goals sought by teachers cannot be routinely realized. Their ideals are difficult and demanding: exerting moral influence, "soldering" students to learning, and achieving general impact presume great capacity to penetrate and alter the consciousness of students. (pp. 132-133)

In his words, we glimpse the essence of teaching, the ideals to which men and women of that profession largely aspire. Lortie's statement also confronts us with the fact that teachers' goals for students are difficult to achieve. In this light, what teachers <u>do</u> in their classrooms, the activities or tasks they instigate and the ways they involve students, become critically important.

The variety of strategies and materials used by teachers is remarkably small given the diverstity of students and contexts in which they work. Further, we can gather from historical chronicles and archival representations that the delivery of instruction has changed little over the centuries. Despite the aspirations of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and radical educators (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936; Neill, 1960; Skinner, 1948; Smith & Keith, 1971) and the advent of a variety of audiovisual technologies, a preponderance of whole-group, teacher-directed instruction remains. Bossert (1979) described only three categories of pedagogy that commonly occur in schools:

> <u>Recitation</u>--An activity that involves the whole class or a large group of children in a single task: The children listen to the question the teacher asks, raise their hands, wait to be recognized, and give an answer. . . . The teacher usually controls the flow of questions and answers.
>
> <u>Class Task</u>--Worksheets, tests, math assignments, or other tasks assigned to the entire class.
>
> <u>Multitask</u>--Usually includes tasks like independent reading, small group and independent projects, artwork, and crafts. These activities involve the greatest amount of pupil choice in organizing and completing the work. (pp. 44-45)

Teachers' choice of instructional strategy seems to depend on many factors. Dunkin and Biddle (1974) noted that the instructional approach selected by teachers is influenced by their formative and training experiences and by their own psychological "properties" (p. 40). In addition, as in our own conception (see Figure 1, p. v), they noted the importance of context variables such as community, school size, and student ethnic composition on classroom practice. (For further examples,

see Dwyer, Smith, Prunty, & Kleine, in press, a case study of contextual impact on an educational innovation.) Finally, Dunkin and Biddle underscore the importance of the students--essential partners in any instructional task:

> Most systems for studying teaching have concentrated on teacher behavior, assuming, reasonably, that much of the success of teaching is in the teacher's hands. . . . Are these presumptions adequate? Surely teachers not only induce but also react to pupil behavior. . . . In some ways, therefore, teacher behavior is also a function of pupil behavior, and the success of the teaching enterprise rests with pupils as well as with teachers. (p. 44)

The purpose of our study, of course, is to look beyond the teacher and his or her students and examine the role of the principal in the leadership and management of instruction. This section describes the pedagogy employed at Emerson Junior High School and seeks to explain the instructional patterns that we found by relating them to student, teacher, principal, and other contextual factors.

There were no explicit policies at Emerson guiding <u>teaching techniques</u> in the classroom. Each teacher was free to choose his or her own methods and to determine his or her own allocation of instructional time (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). For the most part, instruction was delivered in traditional fashion using lecture, recitation, and seatwork. Two examples demonstrating the range of instructional practices at the school are briefly described below.

American history was a required course for eighth graders, and students were assigned to Mr. Manning's classes by computer on a random basis. Manning believed that the resulting mixed-ability classes limited his options for teaching approaches and made class discussions and other types of recitation difficult. The backbone of his curriculum, therefore, was a series of packets consisting of readings and questions, remnants of an "individualized" program he had once used. For the most part, students worked independently on this seatwork every day. Completion of this work and satisfactory performance on tests would earn a student a "C" grade in the course. Students who finished their packets early and who wished to earn a higher grade were assigned various supplementary activities, typically reading and written reports (FN, 5/3/83, pp. 1-7).

Instruction in Mrs. Chambers's seventh-grade English classes was strongly influenced not only by the teacher's academic goals but by her perception of her students' developmental level and emotional needs. Chambers strove to make her classroom a safe and pleasant place where students could explore ideas and develop writing and thinking skills. To this end, she used many open-

ended discussion topics as she covered the literature components of her curriculum. During the year of this study, she also grouped her students into clusters of four students, all boys or all girls, who sat together for most of the year and spent part of their time on group projects. Chambers tried to balance the skill levels of each group so that students could learn from each other; members of a group often exchanged papers and critiqued each others' writing (FN, 5/19/83, pp. 1-5).

When asked how familiar Lancaster was with their instructional practices and lesson content, most teachers said that the principal did not know a great deal about what they did in the classroom. Some mentioned that she had received copies of their course outlines, and others stated that her only contact with classroom operations was during formal observations (TI, 5/17/83, p. 16; TI, 5/24/83, p. 7). Still others indicated that students frequently told the principal what they were doing in their classes, particularly if there was something they did not like about the work (TI, 4/25/83, p. 9; TI, 5/24/83, p. 5). Finally, one group of teachers, those whom the principal regarded most highly, said that Lancaster visited their classrooms whenever she conducted tours of Emerson for visitors (TI, 5/12/83, p. 8).

Some of the teachers who discussed Lancaster's knowledge of their day-to-day work mentioned that they would like her to visit more often and see more of what was going on in each of their various student groups (TI, 5/2/83, p. 6; TI, 5/17/83, p. 8; TI, 5/24/83, p. 6). One teacher whose classes were part of the "visitors' tour" expressed disappointment that Lancaster chose only her advanced classes, and said that she would like the principal to see other sections that represented more difficult teaching situations (TI, 5/12/83, p. 7).

Lancaster, for her part, expected her teachers to maintain orderly classrooms and to try to keep their students involved with learning through active teaching and varied activities. She knew from experience which teachers were doing well in this regard, and she trusted them to continue to work hard and exercise their intelligence and creativity (TI, 10/7/82, p. 13). When the principal observed shortcomings, she provided feedback by suggestion or question. One day, for example, when Lancaster covered the classroom of an absent teacher until the substitute could arrive, she took the opportunity to examine the day's lesson; later, she commented briefly to the teacher that she needed to be better prepared, and she listened to the teacher's explanation of her lapses (TI, 10/7/82, p. 19). On another occasion, the principal used a formal evaluation of a new science teacher to suggest that he try to incorporate more "laboratory" or "hands-on" activities for students (SO, 6/22/83, p. 1). Without being authoritarian or threatening, Lancaster was communicating to her staff, in both of these instances, what she expected of them as they worked with students in their subject areas.

As was the case with other instructional practices, the principal reported that the use of homework was determined by individual teachers and/or departments. Although a district homework policy did exist, it was sufficiently broad to allow any school, department, or teacher a virtual carte blanche in the assignment of homework. The most specific mandate in the district document was a "guideline" for quantity: 30 minutes of homework daily in each solid course for students in seventh through twelfth grades (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II; Doc., July 1980).

Teachers were required to send home copies of their homework policies with students at the beginning of the year, and Lancaster asked to see these beforehand (FN, 9/8/82, p. 4). The principal did not otherwise monitor teachers' homework practices in any formal way. She did, however, learn about homework from her informal conversations with students, and if she regarded an assignment as particularly creative and interesting, she later complimented the teacher (TI, 5/24/83, p. 5).

Grouping within classrooms was left entirely to the discretion of Emerson's teachers (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). Some teachers reported using groups or teams in the classroom for occasional activities or projects (I, 5/12/83, p. 6; TI, 5/17/83, p. 3; I, 5/19/83, p. 4). In ESL classes where several levels of English proficiency were represented, students were divided into groups according to their skill levels (TI, 6/10/83, p. 5). Many teachers, however, never used groups.

Chambers's English classes, described above, demonstrated the most extreme case of within-class grouping. In her classes, students were assigned to clusters for the better part of the school year, a strategy to involve students more actively in their own learning.

Lancaster approved of teachers using groups creatively. At the same time, she was willing to leave grouping decisions in the hands of the teachers themselves.

Staff Development: Nothing seemed as important to the dozens of principals with whom we spoke in this study than the quality of their teachers. Again and again, we were told that teachers make the difference in the quality of schools. The procurement and retention of teachers, and the development of their instructional expertise, then, seem critical in the establishment of an effective instructional system in any school.

Illuminating the same point, Shulman (1984) also focused on teachers in a statement about effective schools that he termed "outrageous":

> I would like to suggest another image for you to carry around in your heads of what an effective school is like--an image that goes beyond the empirical view of a school that produces gains in test scores . . . .

> I'd like to suggest a view of an effective school that you will treat as outrageous. I think we ought to define effective schools as those that are educative settings for teachers. (Address)

Quite rationally, he explained his proposal:

> If the quality of education for kids ultimately depends on how smart teachers are about their teaching and about their subjects, what better place for them to learn new things than in the school itself?

Noting our principals' beliefs about the importance of teachers and finding no argument with Shulman's logic, we consider the topic of staff development a crucial part of the technology of instructional systems (see also Showers, 1984).

Three common aspects of the day-to-day world of schools seem germane to conceptualizing staff development as growth or learning experiences for teachers: a) the supervision of instruction; b) teacher evaluation; and c) in-service opportunities for staff. We have already woven the story of supervision in this school into other portions of the story. For example, through supervision, we find our principals influencing social and academic goals, social and academic curriculum, and pedagogy. In this section, then, we would like to illuminate the principal's activities and attitudes regarding teacher evaluation and discuss her role in the provision of in-service activities for teachers.

Before describing teacher evaluation at Emerson, we would like to clarify the difference between instructional supervision and teacher evaluation, because the two are often confused. McLaughlin (1984) distinguished between the two:

> Supervision of teaching and evaluation of teaching are not the same thing. Instructional supervision is the process of facilitating the professional growth of a teacher by giving the teacher feedback about classroom interactions and helping the teacher to make use of that feedback to become a more effective teacher. Evaluation is the analysis of overall teaching performance to meet contractual requirements, including the measurement of teacher change and improvement both in teaching and professional conduct to make personnel decisions for job placement, tenure, performance improvement plans, dismissal, and recognition and promotion.

> The power to supervise is bestowed by teachers and is intended to create trust between the teacher and supervisor, to facilitate teacher learning and develop teacher autonomy. The power to evaluate is bestowed by the governing board, administration, and state regulations . . . . (p. 4)

Teacher evaluation, the bureaucratic responsibility that McLaughlin defined, was governed at Emerson by Waverly district policy. New teachers were evaluated twice their first year, and then once a year until they achieved tenure. Tenured teachers were evaluated every other year (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II).

Lancaster and her two assistant principals equally shared the responsibilities for teacher evaluation. Each administrator evaluated teachers in the subjects closest to his or her own areas of expertise: the instructional assistant principal was in charge of foreign languages (including ESL and bilingual programs), music, and English; the administrative assistant principal handled social studies, mathematics, and special education; and Lancaster covered the remaining areas. Within this arrangement, Emerson's administrators were flexible; if, for example, there had been "a particular problem with one administrator and the teacher," according to Lancaster, then another administrator would subsequently evaluate that teacher (TI, 10/7/82, p. 18).

The evaluation process began when the teacher submitted his or her objectives to the appropriate administrator. The teacher and administrator then met to discuss the objectives and reach an agreement about them. The administrator conducted one or more classroom observations, held conferences with the teacher, and compiled an evaluation report. Copies of the report were sent to the office of certificated personnel, the assistant superintendent, the teacher, the evaluator, and the school principal (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II).

Although Lancaster emphasized that the "improvement of instruction in the classroom is an important part of our work" (TI, 10/7/82, p. 18), she did not believe that rigorous formal evaluation and monitoring were effective strategies for improving teachers' instructional skills. She pointed out that teachers sometimes refused to sign their evaluation reports if any need for improvement was indicated, although the form stated that the teacher's signature "does not imply agreement" and the teacher's position was in no way jeopardized (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II). Having seen staff members respond to evaluation in this manner, Lancaster was especially concerned that her teachers not feel threatened by the procedure (SO, 10/7/82, p. 50).

Lancaster herself sometimes had difficulty meeting all of her deadlines and saw this as a limitation to her use of evaluation. In one instance, although she believed a new staff member was not

teaching effectively, Lancaster was reluctant to give him an unsatisfactory rating in any assessment area because she had not adhered to the district timeline. However, she considered having him submit lesson plans to her next year, and she had indicated on his evaluation report that she needed to observe more classes to assess certain components of his program (IOI, 3/30/83, Part II; SO, 6/7/83, pp. 7-8).

Lancaster's statements about evaluation were, to a large extent, supported by the comments of her staff members. Several mentioned that she was not "nit-picky" about their work, and that she did not require them to submit detailed lesson plans (TI, 4/26/83, p. 6). Some added that she had monitored them more closely when they were new to Emerson, but that once they had proved themselves, she checked their work less often (SO, 5/12/83, p. 2).

Teachers typically saw Lancaster's nonauthoritarian style of monitoring and evaluating as indications of her trust in their professional skills. At the same time, they knew what she expected of them, and a number of teachers reported that Lancaster could tell if they were meeting these expectations simply by spending just a few minutes observing their classes (TI, 4/26/83, pp. 6-7; TI, 5/2/83, p. 12).

If Lancaster downplayed the role of formal teacher evaluation at Emerson, she supported her staff's participation in in-service activities as a strategy for professional growth. Little (1982) commented on this important aspect of successful schools:

> In . . . successful schools, teachers and administrators [are] more likely to talk together regularly and frequently about the business of instruction . . . , more likely to work together to develop lessons, assignments and materials, and more likely to teach one another about new ideas or practices. (p. 40)

Little emphasized the value of school staff members sharing work on teaching under a "norm of collegiality." In this way, teachers learn from each other; ideas acquired through participation in in-service training activities are brought back to colleagues, shared in discussions, and processed for useful incorporation into classroom practice. Facilitating such exchanges of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a key role of the principal. The unique position of the principal in the school organization that permits him or her to support this aspect of staff development is a persistent theme in the literature (e.g., Rosenblum & Jastrzab, n.d.; Showers, 1984).

When teachers and administrators at Emerson spoke about <u>in-service opportunities</u>, they referred typically to formal workshops or courses that were available through the Waverly district or from other sources. Teachers' enthusiasm for, and participation in, such opportunities varied. Some reported no

offerings in their subject areas or said that most offerings were too superficial (TI, 4/25/83, p. 1; TI, 5/20/83, p. 1). Others mentioned that more development activities were available through their professional organizations than through the district, and some said that they attended such conferences and workshops regularly (TI, 5/12/83, p. 1; TI, 6/14/83, p. 1). The principal reported that in-service opportunities were usually funded through a state assembly bill that targeted money for teachers' professional development. Emerson's instructional assistant principal was in charge of applications for these funds, some of which Lancaster had helped write, and had been instrumental in making various opportunities available to Emerson's teachers through this program (TI, 3/17/82, p. 14; TI, 10/11/82, pp. 9-12).

Teachers perceived Lancaster to be a strong supporter of their professional development activities and were aware of her efforts to obtain funding for them. They commented that she kept them informed of opportunities, encouraged and reminded them about classes and sessions, approved their requests "without hassles," and said that the principal was aware of who participated in what activities. In addition, they cited and appreciated her support in making arrangements to cover their classes so that they could attend in-service sessions scheduled on school days (SFI, 5/3/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/20/83, p. 1; SFI, 5/24/83, p. 1; SFI, 6/14/83, p. 1).

In at least one instance, staff development activities had directly effected the instructional program at Emerson; this occurred in the English department. As stated earlier, improving students' writing skills was a "top priority" at Emerson (TI, 5/26/83, p. 10). All of the English teachers had received training in the methods of the Better Writing Project through a neighboring university. Most English teachers spoke positively about this training, and we observed one teacher using its techniques in her classroom (FN, 3/15/83, pp. 2-3; I, 5/3/83, p. 1; TI, 6/14/83, p. 1).

Thus, Lancaster's influence in these two areas of staff development--evaluation and in-service activities--was characteristic of her preferred strategies for shaping other features of Emerson's instructional organization. She assumed a nonauthoritarian stance, communicated her interest and expectations, provided support, and allowed teachers the freedom to make their own choices.

Summary: Emerson's School Ethos

Grace Lancaster believed that school should offer "something for everyone," and one of her goals for both students and staff was that they should want to be at school. This meant that students should have teachers, counselors, and administrators who liked and were skilled at working with young teenagers. It also meant that teachers should have friendly colleagues and a supportive administration. While such expectations were not always

satisfied, Emerson, for the most part, embodied Lancaster's view of the school as a "service-oriented" organization in which "people are the most important" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 32).

For students, Emerson offered a variety of experiences aimed at making the school an appealing place for them. Many of these had been instituted by Lancaster, including the rap and peer counseling programs, the student lounge, and regular dances. In addition, teachers worked actively to involve their students in learning, and many enriched instruction through student participation in field trips, contests, and performances. Other teachers sought to organize instructional activities to assist the social and emotional development of students.

Emerson's administrators were both visible and accessible to students. In this way, they were able to communicate their interest in youngsters while overseeing their deportment. Lancaster's view of students, even those who occasionally misbehaved, was that most of them were not "bad kids," and she treated them accordingly. As a result of her actions and her influence on Emerson's staff, the school environment, despite overcrowded conditions, was safe and orderly without being repressive.

Emerson's staff also benefitted from Lancaster's view about the importance of people. Whether responding to requests concerning their instructional practices and classes or to problems related to their personal lives or family responsibilities, Lancaster attempted to support staff needs through accommodation, providing resources, or simple encouragement. Although staff members expressed a variety of beliefs and approaches, they were tolerant of each other; social interactions were generally friendly.

In similar fashion, parents who came into contact with the school and with Lancaster found their needs and concerns being resolved promptly and courteously. Parent support of Lancaster and Emerson was evident in the services they performed to assist with the extracurricular program and with special events.

Thus, the social organization of school life for participants at Emerson was aimed at creating positive interactions that promoted involvement, commitment, and satisfaction. Another contributor to the quality of school life for Emerson's students was the school's formal program, which included a broad range of course offerings. Students could choose from a variety of electives, more than the number offered by most of the other Waverly junior high schools. In addition, bilingual and ESL programs addressed the needs of a growing minority population.

For teachers, the organization of the formal program permitted them a great deal of freedom to choose what they taught and how they taught it. As one teacher said:

> She . . . leaves us alone so that we can do our jobs and treats us like people. . . . Because she gives you the slack, you always use more time and put in extra work and stay extra days and come before school starts or stay after school ends to accomplish what you want to accomplish, because it's yours and she lets you do that. And she has faith in you in the classroom, and because of that you do a good job. (TI, 5/24/83, p. 4)

Lancaster rewarded special efforts that teachers made by supporting them with whatever resources she could obtain. Supervision of instruction was not rigorous, and formal evaluations of staff were managed by Lancaster in a nonthreatening way. Teachers who had proved themselves were trusted to carry on their work with little monitoring by the administration. Professional growth and development activities for teachers were also encouraged but not mandated.

Although autonomy was a key theme in the way teachers worked at Emerson, it was accompanied by many positive social interactions among staff members. Their cohesiveness was enacted in their traditional parties at Christmas and the end of the year. Staff spoke enthusiastically of these gatherings and valued the opportunities they provided for group celebration. Not only did these occasions include many members of Emerson's professional and support staffs, but they also brought together former staff, who were still considered part of the extended Emerson "family." As in other aspects of life at Emerson, Grace Lancaster played a central role in these events. She enjoyed these opportunities to spend time with her staff that was devoted exclusively to socializing.

The intersection of social processes and work structure at Emerson reflected the vision of Grace Lancaster and the distinctive stamp she had impressed on the organization in her 12 years of leadership. She believed strongly that it was possible to create conditions that would encourage students and teachers to work effectively and enjoy school life. Lancaster saw effective teachers as ones who "expect students to learn, treat students like individuals, and make students feel good about themselves" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 6). As an administrator, Lancaster emphasized teachers' strengths, minimized their weaknesses, and made a point "not [to be] petty about small things" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 13). With these actions, she conveyed the message that teachers were both trusted and expected to work hard.

The emphasis at Emerson was on freedom and flexibility, with individual needs and circumstances always being taken into account. As the administration dealt with students and staff and as teachers worked with students in and out of the classroom, the values, norms, and beliefs that shaped interactions stressed democratic and humanistic ideals. Despite Emerson's size, the heterogeneity of its staff and students, the complexity of its

program, and the uncertain conditions under which it often operated, school operations were guided by a mission of humane service. Policies and practices were designed and implemented as tools for creating an effective and satisfying experience for staff and students alike.

PATTERNS AND PROCESSES IN THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE AS INSTRUCTIONAL LEADER

Finding Instructional Leadership in Principals' Routine Actions

We want to remind the reader, after this long descriptive narrative about Grace Lancaster and Emerson Junior High School, our collaboration with this principal and others began as we sought to understand the principal's role in instructional leadership and management. We turned first to prior research about principals and found a major contradiction: While descriptive studies argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with instructional matters (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979), effective-school studies proffered the centrality of principals in the development of potent instructional organizations (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979).

Attempting to resolve this enigma, we interviewed dozens of principals and completed an intensive, eight-week pilot study. Based on these preliminary efforts, we strongly suspected that principals could be key agents in the creation of successful instructional settings:

> The intensiveness of the method employed in [our pilot studies] has allowed a very different concept of leadership behavior to emerge. This concept is one that visualizes instructional leadership accruing from the repetition of routine and mundane acts performed in accord with principals' overarching perspectives on schooling.
>
> If such is the case, research procedures must be finely tuned and pervasive enough in the school to reveal those behaviors and trace their effects. A lack of such thorough and field-based procedures may account for the frequent report that principals are not effective instructional leaders or that they do not occupy themselves with instructional matters. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 57)

This statement contained both conceptual and methodological premises that were distinct from those embodied in other studies about school principals.

Conceptually, we began our yearlong studies of principals attuned to the importance of routine activities like the ones we had noted during our pilot work: monitoring, controlling and exchanging information, planning, interacting with students, hiring and training staff, and overseeing building maintenance. We had written about these behaviors:

> These are the routine and mundane acts through which principals can assess the working status of their organizations and the progress of their schools relative to long-term goals. They are the acts which allow principals to alter the course of events midstream: to return aberrant student behavior to acceptable norms; to suggest changes in teaching style or intervene to demonstrate a preferred form of instruction; to develop student, teacher, or community support for programs already underway; to develop an awareness of changes in the organization that must be made in the future. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 54)

The "success" of these actions for instructional management, we wrote, "hinges . . . on the principal's capacity to connect them to the instructional system" (p. 54), for we had found that the principals with whom we worked believed that they could and did influence the instructional systems in their schools.

We also found that each of our principals held a working theory of his or her instructional system--an overarching perspective--that guided his or her actions. Those overarching perspectives were complex constellations of personal experience, community and district "givens," principals' behaviors, and instructional climate and organization variables that offered both direct and circuitous routes along which principals could influence their schools and the experiences their students encountered daily. (Our generalized model is illustrated in Figure 1 in the Foreword.)

The purposes of principals' actions, however, were not always transparent, and the consequences of their activities were not necessarily immediate. In addition, the impact of routine behaviors might be cumulative; we would have to watch the same actions again and again before we could see noticeable change in the instructional systems of our schools. Thus, finding the subtle linkages between principals' actions and instructional outcomes in schools would require the most intensive effort we could mount; we needed to spend as much time as possible in our schools; we needed to question participants in the scenes we

witnessed about their interactions, and about the purposes and outcomes of principals' actions.

We accomplished this intensive examination of the daily work of principals primarily with a combination of observation and interview procedures which we called the shadow and the reflective interview. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a full description of these procedures.) The intensive application of the full range of our inquiry activities aligned our work with the research tradition variously called educational ethnography, participant observation, or case study by its leading practitioners (e.g., Becker, Greer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Cicourel et al., 1974; Smith, 1978; Spindler, 1982; Walker, 1932; Wax, Wax, & DuMont, 1964).

We spent over a thousand hours in our 12 schools, an effort that yielded approximately 10,000 pages of descriptive material about the work of principals. When we analyzed this body of material to discover simply what principals do, we found that their activities could be broken down into nine categories of principals' routine behaviors:

Goal Setting & Planning: Defining or determining future outcomes. Making decisions about, or formulating means for, achieving those ends.

Monitoring: Reviewing, watching, checking, being present without a formal evaluation intended.

Evaluating: Appraising or judging with regard to persons, programs, material, etc. May include providing feedback.

Communicating: Various forms of verbal exchange, including greeting, informing, counseling, commenting, etc. Also includes forms of nonverbal communication such as physical contacts, gestures, and facial expressions.

Scheduling, Allocating Resources, & Organizing: Making decisions about allocations of time, space, materials, personnel, and energy. Arranging or coordinating projects, programs, or events.

Staffing: Hiring and placement of teaching staff, specialists, and support personnel.

Modeling: Demonstrating teaching techniques or strategies of interaction for teachers, other staff, parents, or students.

Governing: Decision making with regard to policy. Legislating, enforcing policy or rules.

Filling In: Substituting for another staff member (nurse, maintenance person, secretary, teacher) on a temporary basis.

We found that well over 50% of our observations of principals fit the Communicating category and that Monitoring, Scheduling/ Allocating Resources/Organizing, and Governing encompassed most of our remaining observations. Analyzing our interviews with teachers about what principals do produced nearly an identical profile.

Our profiles of what principals <u>do</u> in their schools--their behaviors--illustrate, again, what many others have reported: Principals' activities are typically very short, face-to-face interactions with students, teachers, parents, or other participants in school organizations; their interactions usually occur almost anywhere but in their own offices; and the topics of their interactions change frequently and abruptly. A study by Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie (1982), for example, reported that the principal's day is composed of "school monitoring behaviors," "serving as school spokesperson," "serving the school staff internally as a disseminator of information," and "serving the school as both disturbance handler and resource allocator" (p. 689). Another study (Martin & Willower, 1981) likened the principal's work to private sector management after a Mintzberg-type study of the activities of school principals. They, too, found that principals' work is characterized by "variety, brevity, and fragmentation" (p. 79), and that the preponderance (84.8%) of the activities of the principals who participated in their study involved "purely verbal elements" (p. 80).

These researchers concluded from their observations that the principal's role as an instructional leader is relatively minor. Morris et al. stated that "instructional leadership (in terms of classroom observation and teacher supervision) is <u>not</u> the central focus of the principalship" (p. 689), while Martin and Willower reported:

> Perhaps the most widely heralded role of the principal is that of instructional leader, which conjures up images of a task routine dominated by the generation of innovative curricula and novel teaching strategies. The principals in this study spent 17.4% of their time on instructional matters. . . . [T]he majority of the routine education of youngsters that occurred in the schools was clearly the province of the teaching staff. (p. 83)

Another recent study by Newburg and Glatthorn (1983) also concluded that "for the most part principals do not provide instructional leadership" (p. v).

The major problem with these studies, we believe, lies in an overly narrow conception of instructional leadership that is implicitly rational and bureaucratic, despite the fact that principals work in organizations that have been described as "loosely coupled" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976) and even "disorderly" (Perrow, 1982). Only those behaviors that were directly and formally concerned with instruction were examined, and researchers acknowledged that they could make little sense of the vast majority of principals' activities. The Morris group wrote:

> Everything seems to blend together in an undifferentiated jumble of activities that are presumably related, however remotely, to the ongoing rhythm and purpose of the larger enterprise. (1982, p. 689)

The major purpose of our study was to untangle that previously "undifferentiated jumble" of principal behaviors to see how the principal influenced instruction through the culture of the school (Firestone & Wilson, 1983) or through the exercise of routine activities (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). To take this necessary step, we examined the meanings principals and other participants in the school settings attributed to principals' activities. As both Greenfield (1982) and Bridges (1982) had recommended, we probed for the antecedents and consequences of principals' behaviors.

We considered the entire range of behaviors from the thousands of pages that we had acquired during our yearlong study, looking for the purposes of those acts--the targets of principals' activities. The reflective interviews proved to be the most revealing documents, since they captured insiders' perspectives about the meanings of principals' actions. Again, we produced a list of categories that encompassed all of our episodes. These "targets" or purposes included:

> **Work Structure**: All components related to the task of delivering instruction.
>
> **Staff Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings and/or personal needs of individual staff members.
>
> **Student Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings, attitudes, or personal needs (academic, social, or psychological) of students.
>
> **Safety & Order**: Features of the physical organization, rules, and procedures of the

school that influence the safety of members and the capacity of members to carry out their work.

Plant & Equipment: Elements of the physical plant such as the building, grounds, audiovisual equipment, office machines, etc.

Community Relations: Outcomes concerning the attitudes and involvement of parents or other community members.

Institutional Relations: Outcomes related to the district office, other schools, or other formal organizations outside the school.

Institutional Ethos: School culture or spirit. May refer to features of the school program or to a "tone" that contributes to the school's unique identity and constitutes shared meaning among members of the school organization.

Combining the nine types of routine behaviors previously discussed with these eight targets or purposes provided a matrix of 72 discrete action cells. Combining behavior with purpose in this manner helped reveal patterns in the previously chaotic impressions of principals' actions. Sometimes these patterns were related to contextual or personal idiosyncrasies in the settings; sometimes they could be attributed to principals' carefully reasoned approaches. But in all instances, we found interesting leadership stories, where principals strived within their limits to set conditions for, or the parameters of, instruction.

In this manner, we believe we have taken a significant step in revealing various ways in which principals can exercise instructional leadership. The remaining section of this case study of Principal Grace Lancaster discusses the results of our analysis of her routine behaviors and illustrates the manner in which we believe Lancaster led the instructional program at her school.

Lancaster's Enactment of Instructional Leadership

We have related the disparate opinions about the role of the principal as instructional leader found in the research literature. Further, we have noted the importance we place on the routine actions of principals--what other researchers have called an "undifferentiated jumble" of activities; we believe that principals can use their routine activities to influence their instructional organizations significantly. In this final section of the Lancaster case study, we will delve into that jumble, find an order that is related to the specific context in

which Lancaster worked, and disclose a cogent picture of her role as instructional leader at Emerson Junior High School.

By introducing Emerson's setting and actors, portraying a day in the life of Grace Lancaster, and describing the instructional climate and organization of the school, we presented a plethora of details about Emerson Junior High School. The purpose of our narrative was to give the reader a holistic impression of this setting and principal. Yet, while the narrative does provide the necessary background for our story of instructional leadership, we must now construe the data to illuminate Lancaster's role and the impact of her routine actions in that organization.

After completing the field portion of our study, we sorted the hundreds of Lancaster's activities that we observed into the nine behavior categories established in our analysis (see pages 67-68); the result is presented in Figure 4 (p. 72), "Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Behaviors." This figure illustrates what Lancaster did in her school during the time we spent there. In this display, we can see that Lancaster's routine behaviors, like those of every other principal in our study, were predominately acts of communication (59.7%). One easily recalls from the narrative the number of instances in which Lancaster talked with students, staff, community members, and district personnel. Most of these interactions were brief face-to-face conversations, usually with one or two individuals.

Figure 4 also shows that substantial percentages of Lancaster's activities could be described as acts of Scheduling/Allocating Resources/Organizing (17.7%), Monitoring (10.2%), and Governing (7.4%). Specific examples of these types of behaviors can be recalled from the narrative: Lancaster juggled classrooms and teachers in an overcrowded facility; provided teaching materials for a substitute teacher; supervised the cafeteria and grounds during lunch hour; and advised her assistant principals on discipline matters. Relatively few of Lancaster's behaviors were coded as Evaluating (1.9%), Filling In (1.6%), Staffing (1.5%), and Modeling (0.1%); we observed no instances of Goal Setting (0.0%) while we were in the setting.

Although this breakdown of Lancaster's behaviors highlights her preference for conducting school business through face-to-face encounters, it does not reveal the purposes of her activities or the consequences of her acts. The next step in understanding principals' roles is to discover why they do what they do. On pages 69-70, we described eight categories of purposes to which principals, teachers, and students assigned the behaviors of the principals that we witnessed in our 12 research settings. These meanings, when combined with principals' behaviors, disclose purposeful actions where previous researchers saw only an "undifferentiated jumble."

The four largest clusters of Lancaster's actions, when examined in sequence, reveal that the primary target of her most

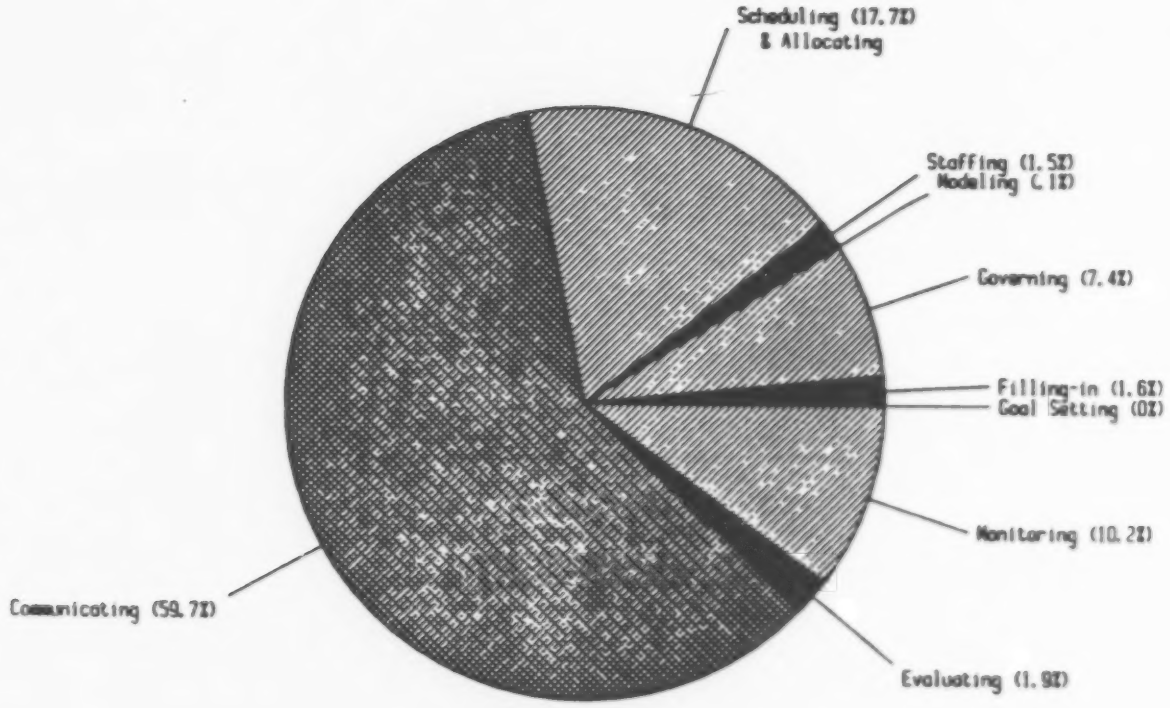

Figure 4: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Behaviors

routine behaviors was Emerson's work structure, comprising all those proximal or distal components related to the delivery of instruction. (See Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8 on pages 74, 75, 76, and 77.) In fact, 34% of Lancaster's activities were aimed at influencing some aspect of the work structure. The same figures indicate that her next largest target categories were staff relations (15%) and safety and order (14%).

Another way to examine Lancaster's actions is to focus on the 72 combinations of principal behaviors and targets in our analytic scheme. This analysis reveals that about three quarters of Lancaster's actions (74%) fell into only nine of those cells. Rank ordered, her most routine activities included:

Communicating/Work Structure (13%)
Communicating/Staff Relations (13%)
Scheduling, Allocating Resources/Work Structure (10%)
Communicating/Student Relations (9%)
Communicating/Institutional Relations (9%)
Communicating/Community Relations (7%)
Communicating/Safety & Order (5%)
Monitoring/Work Structure (4%)
Governing/Safety & Order (4%)

If we begin with this analysis of Lancaster's most routine actions as principal of Emerson Junior High School and add to it the array of facts presented in the narrative about the school's setting and actors--the community and district, Lancaster's own background and beliefs, the nature of the instructional climate and organization at Emerson, and Lancaster's aspirations for her school and her students--we get a very complete picture of Emerson Junior High School. The meaning or purpose of Lancaster's "jumble" of routine actions also becomes patently clear.

The general model we illustrated in Figure 1 (p. v) can be used to frame an overarching perspective of instructional management at Emerson. The community and institutional context "boxes" indicate fundamental system "givens," aspects of the Emerson context that Lancaster could not usually control and that influenced her decisions. The community that Emerson served was multiracial, multiethnic, and predominately lower middle-class. Because of the school's good reputation and Waverly's open enrollment policy, Emerson attracted students from a variety of economic and cultural backgrounds; their parents might be very poor, comfortably well-off, recent immigrants, unemployed, single parents, or professionals. These background factors, combined with the developmental needs of young adolescents, increased the complexity of the tasks facing Emerson's principal and staff.

Conditions in the Waverly district also presented Lancaster with "givens" that could not be ignored or avoided. The structure of the central office had recently been reorganized under the leadership of a new superintendent, and during the year of this study, the Waverly district faced a budget deficit of

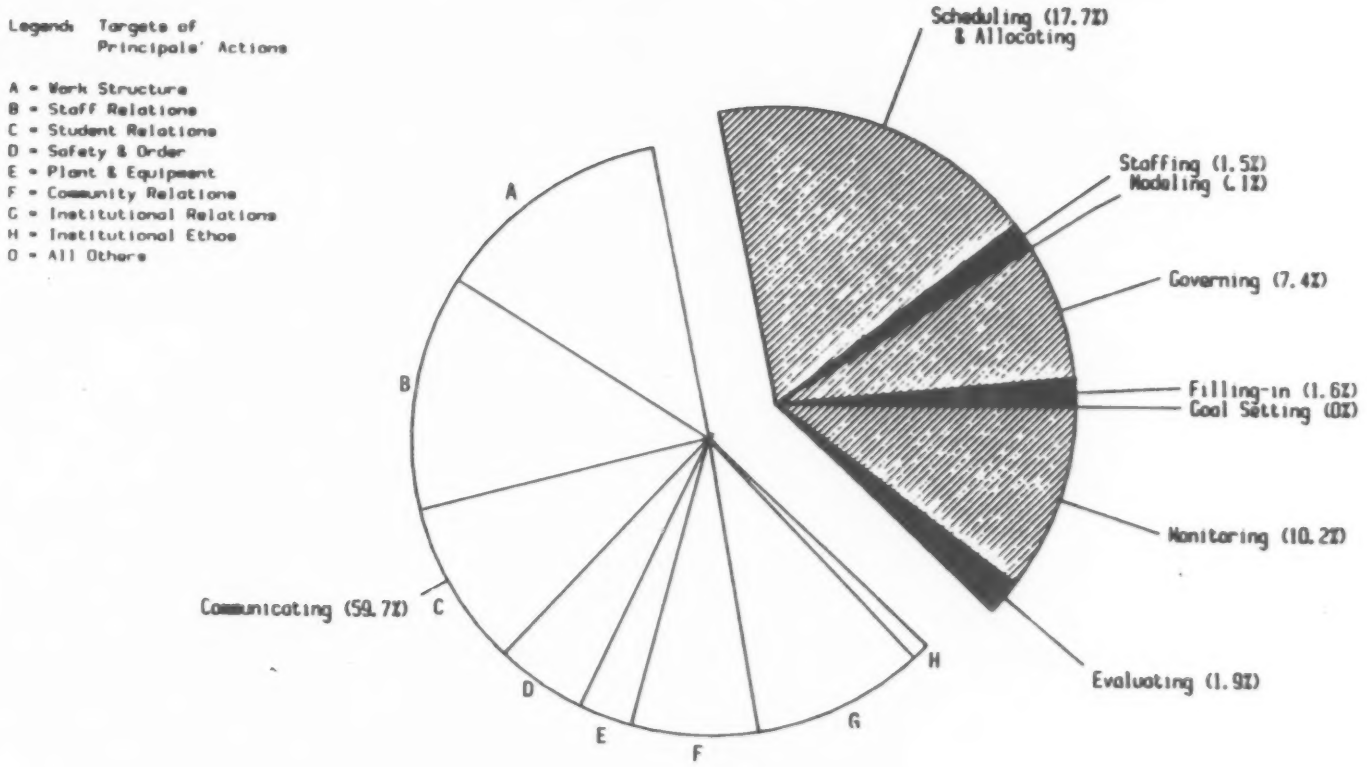

Figure 5: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Communicating

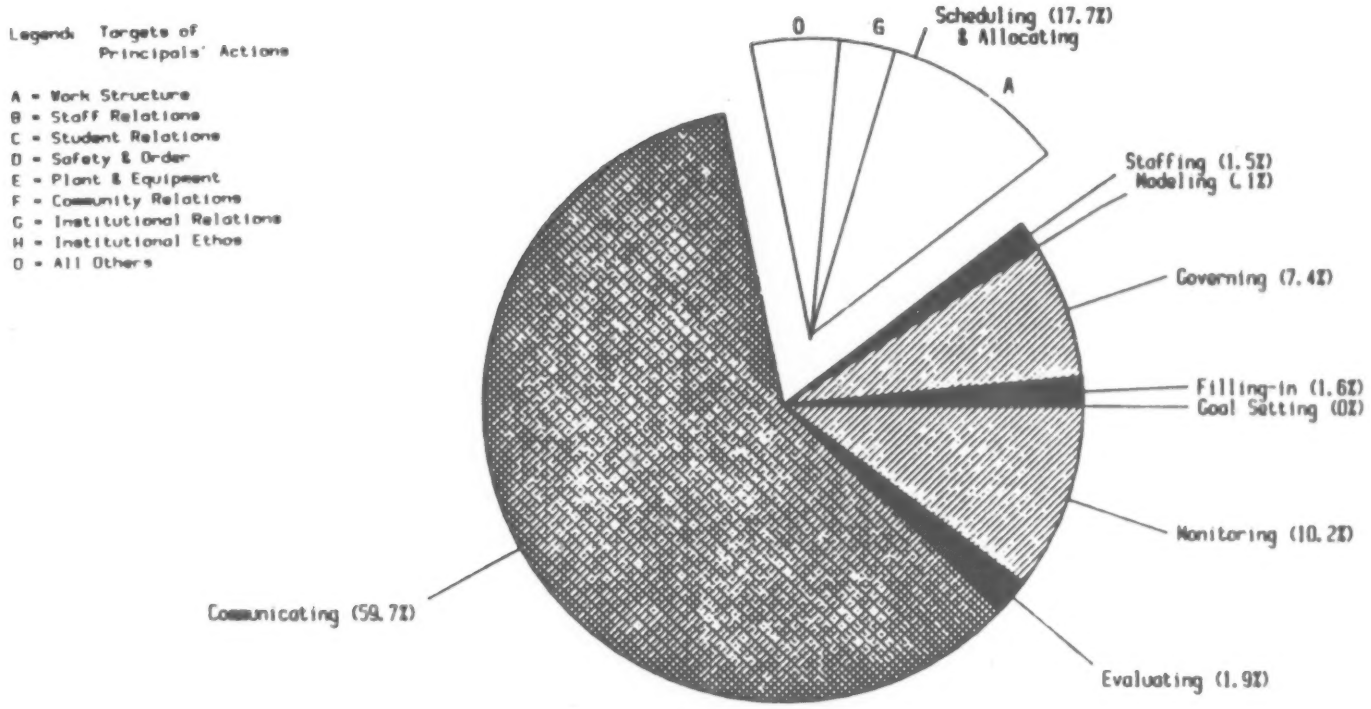

Figure 6: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

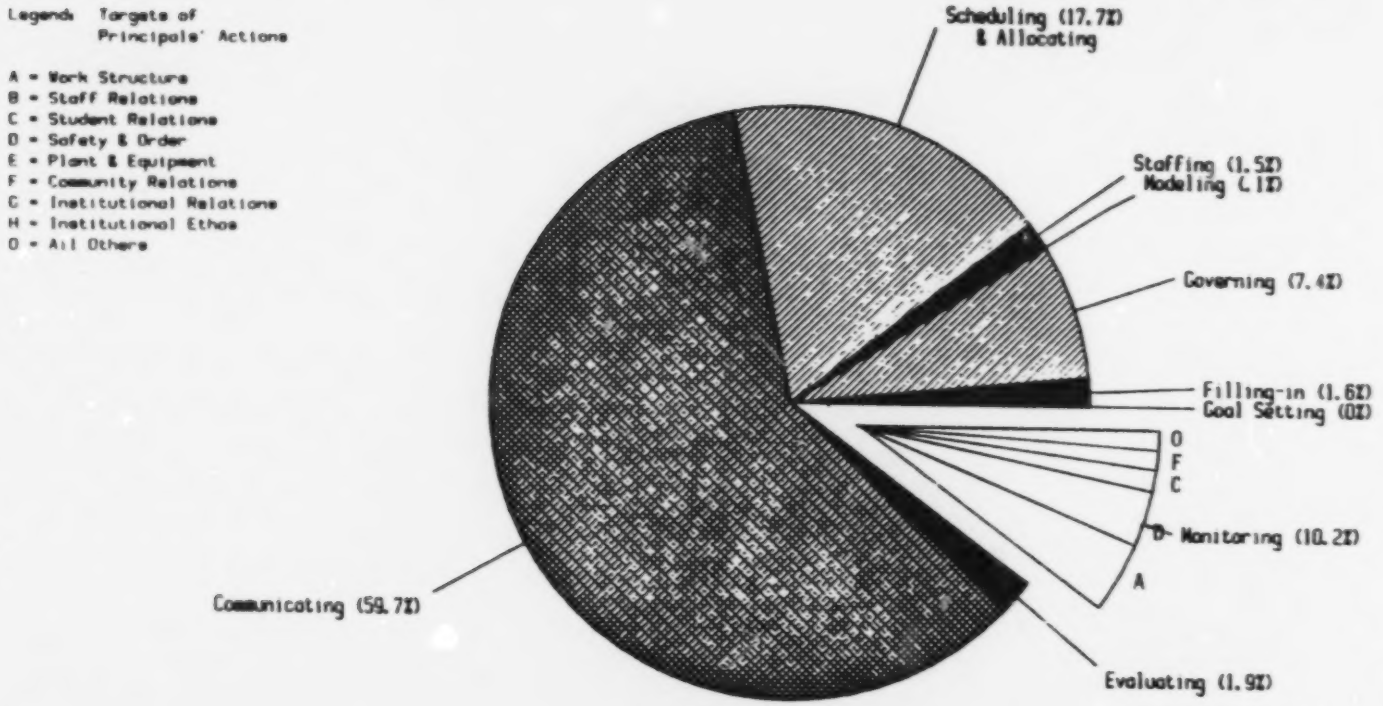

Figure 7: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Monitoring

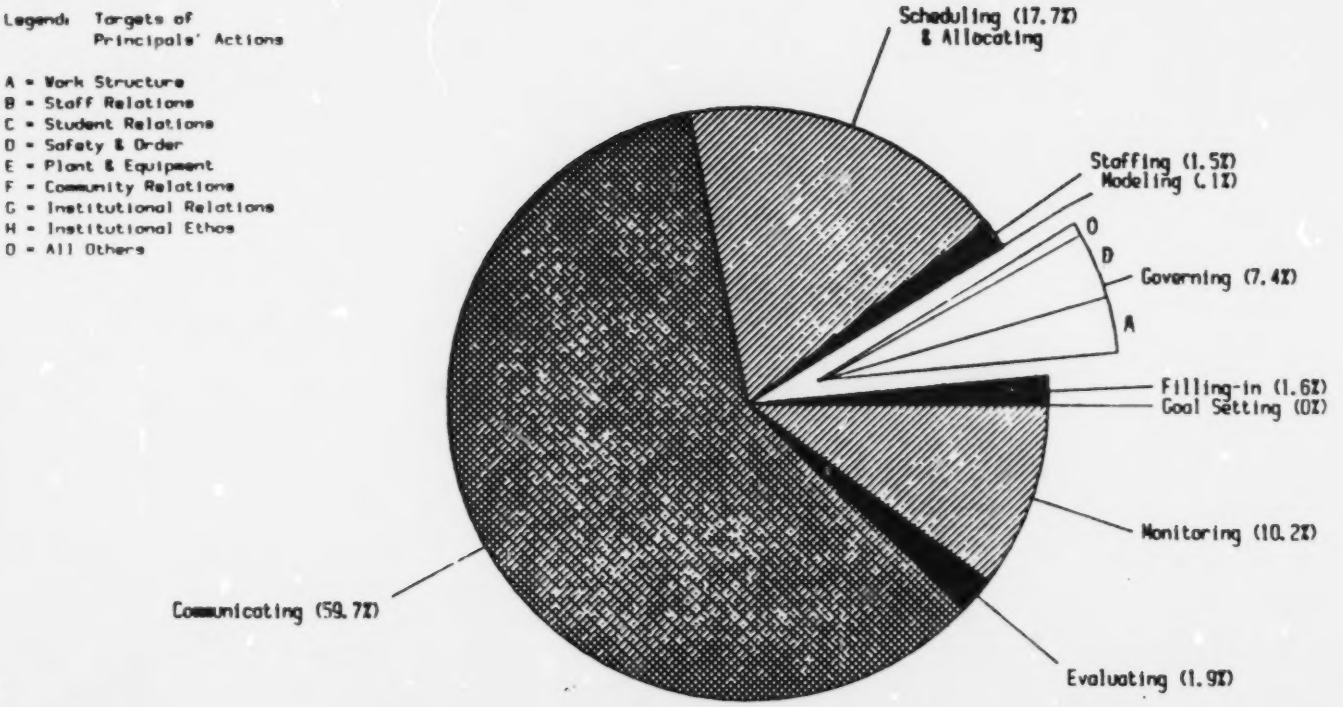

Figure 8: Distribution of Principal Lancaster's Routine Actions: Governing

several million dollars. As a result, Lancaster found herself facing more problems than usual with the slow-moving district bureaucracy.

Along with these difficulties, Lancaster was required to respond to unanticipated conditions at the Emerson site. At the start of the school year, Emerson's enrollment figure of 1,200 was about 100 above the projected figure from the previous spring. Many of the new students were limited- and non-English speakers, which placed unusual demands on the bilingual and ESL programs. The creation of new class sections was complicated, in turn, by the shortage of classroom space at the school.

Because of these "givens," Lancaster had to spend much of her time and energy organizing resources at Emerson so that the work of the school could be carried forward. At the most basic level, this meant coordinating regular and substitute teachers, students, physical space, and instructional materials on an ongoing basis for at least the first two months of the school year, until final staffing determinations were made by the central office. And the overcrowded conditions at the school made the task of maintaining safety and order more complex and time-consuming for Lancaster and her assistant principals.

Other "givens" that influenced Lancaster's leadership style as Emerson's principal were her beliefs and experiences. Lancaster viewed schools as "service-oriented" places where "people are the most important"; she translated this belief into a concern for the quality of experiences that students and teachers shared at Emerson. Lancaster addressed this concern not only through the organization and operation of the Emerson program but also through her willingness to consider the needs of all members of the school community. Her desire to create a humanistic, democratic, nonthreatening, safe, and secure environment for individuals at Emerson was a fundamental impetus to her leadership activities as she responded to the demands described above.

How Lancaster used these activities to shape the climate and organization of Emerson Junior High, the reasons for her actions, the constraints that she faced, and the consequences that ensued are discussed in the remainder of this document.

Establishing the Instructional Climate: Lancaster's view of instructional climate encompassed both physical and psychological factors. Lancaster maintained that instruction could not occur unless students and staff had a secure environment, and many of her behaviors were targeted at safety and order. However, Lancaster recognized that members of the Emerson community needed to feel not only safe but also comfortable and happy. Thus, many of her activities and statements were directed toward staff and student relations, emphasizing building positive attitudes and good feelings among Emerson's participants.

Lancaster's daily routines at Emerson included clusters of activities that focused on these physical and psychological aspects of climate. In addition, the principal tried to communicate her beliefs to members of the Emerson staff whose behavior did not seem to promote Lancaster's vision of schools. The first section of our analysis, therefore, examines the patterns and processes in Lancaster's activities that were directed at shaping the climate for instruction at Emerson. Whenever possible, antecedents and consequences of her activities are described and examine from the point of view of both Emerson's participants and the observer.

Both of the climate themes--safety/order and participant affect--emerged early in the field work. In the first week of school, Lancaster assigned teachers to emergency supervision responsibilities during their conference hours, and the staff volunteered to supervise the building and grounds for 15 minutes of their lunch hour. Lancaster considered these strategies to be important even though, as she stated, "nothing happens" (that is, no emergencies arise that require the additional security); she wanted to make sure youngsters understood that staff members were serious about expecting appropriate behavior. "If a kid comes out of the classroom, he's going to see that someone's there," she said (TI, 9/9/82, p. 35).

The issue of staff relations also received Lancaster's prompt attention. At the first staff meeting of the school year, Lancaster began on a personal note by asking teachers about their summer activities; her manner of questioning indicated her personal interest in her staff members, and listeners' comments conveyed interest in their colleagues. The impression for the observer was that this was not simply a ceremonial gesture on Lancaster's part but an indication of the social cohesiveness of the Emerson staff (FN, 9/8/82, pp. 1-2).

Concern for both aspects of climate continued to occupy Lancaster throughout the school year. When the principal was required to make decisions among competing demands, her actions always reflected her awareness of the needs of the organization, her own vision of what a school should be, and her beliefs about appropriate strategies for school leadership.

Many of Lancaster's activities throughout the year were directed at maintaining the tone of Emerson as a serious, orderly work place, a responsibility that she shared with her two assistant principals. She accomplished this task in large part by assuming daily supervision duties: Before classes started in the morning, she monitored the grounds; each lunch hour found her in the cafeteria and on the patio; and at the end of the day, she stood in front of the main entrance overseeing students as they left the building.

Lancaster's supervision of students involved three types of activities: monitoring, communicating, and governing. Her presence in the various locations she supervised allowed her to

monitor students' behavior for appropriateness. (Refer to Figure 7 for distribution of Lancaster's monitoring activities.) Although serious breaches of conduct sometimes occurred at Emerson, for the most part inappropriate behavior was limited to such minor infractions as students running instead of walking, not emptying their trays before leaving the cafeteria, using inappropriate language, or being out of class without permission.

In all cases, Lancaster's strategies for responding to deviations from expected behavior were generally consistent with her emphasis on a humanistic approach and her view that students should meet the expectations that are set for them. Consequently, she most typically responded to minor deviations by communicating her concern to the students involved. (Refer to Figure 5 for distribution of Lancaster's communicating activities.) Those who looked as if they would be late for class were simply reminded to hurry. Those who failed to clean up the trash from their eating areas were asked to pay more attention. Lancaster seldom resorted to harsher measures unless a serious offense such as a fight occurred.

When she was required to be more directive, Lancaster's way of governing safety and order at Emerson was an extension of her beliefs about school and students. (Refer to Figure 8 for distribution of Lancaster's governing activities.) One day, for example, she encountered on the patio during class time a small boy who was wearing jeans and an undershirt. She approached him and said, "Honey, where's your shirt? You're supposed to be wearing a shirt." He told her that it was in a duffle bag that another boy had taken. Her response was to tell him that she would see what she could do to help him. She spent the next 10 to 15 minutes taking care of the matter so that the youngster would have his belongings returned to him before he was expected to return to class (FN, 10/5/82, pp. 4-5).

Given the size and heterogeneity of Emerson's student body, the physical limitations of the site, and the school's location in the midst of an urban environment, one would not be surprised to see sterner measures for maintaining order than were observed at the school. At other junior high schools in the Waverly district, for example, all entrances to the campus except the main one were kept locked during school hours; at Emerson this was not necessary. Other junior high school staffs included half a dozen campus supervisors for 600 students; Emerson employed two supervisors for its 1,200 students, one of them a middle-aged woman. For the most part, supervision of students at Emerson was accomplished with little coercion. This was especially true of Lancaster's strategies.

As we have seen, Lancaster's actions in supervising safety and order at Emerson focused on nurturing students and communicating expectations for their behavior without provoking defensiveness. Her ability to employ such strategies effectively was directly linked to the importance she placed on attending to students at Emerson in a highly individualized way. For

Lancaster, supervision was not carried out simply as an end in itself, a strategy for maintaining order; it was also an opportunity to be visible and accessible to students and a chance to communicate to them her personal interest in their welfare--all contributors to the psychological or affective component of climate.

Having described above the various activities with which Lancaster instilled safety and order at Emerson, we now shift our attention to the activities that she aimed at an important affective component of climate--student relations.

Lancaster believed that schools were service organizations that existed to meet the needs of students. "We are all here because of the students," she said (TI, 9/9/82, p. 32). Thus, she strove to create at Emerson a climate where students would be happy. One of the ways she accomplished this was by communicating her personal interest in her students, thereby shaping her relationships with them, their perceptions of Emerson, and their feelings of well-being. (Refer to Figure 5 for distribution of Lancaster's communicating activities.) She often greeted youngsters by name, placed her hand on their arms, teased and inquired about their social lives, asked about their families, and checked on their recovery from illnesses and injuries. Almost no student concern was too minor to merit Lancaster's attention: She directed new students to classrooms and offices, taught them how to open their lockers, allowed students to store items in her office or use it to study during lunch hour, and helped them locate lost items.

In addition, a considerable portion of Lancaster's interactions with students involved responding to some kind of special problem or distress. The reader will recall the principal's intervention between a student and teacher at an assembly, her attention to student requests for class changes, and her resolution of a student's request to bring a visitor to her classes. When Lancaster's supervisory responsibilities made her aware of student problems, she resolved these on the spot whenever she could. In the cafeteria, for example, she checked to make sure a student whose parents were not working was listed on the free lunch roster, and she loaned money to another student who was surprised when her name did not appear on the list (FN, 10/5/82, p. 23).

Lancaster was especially aware of how students' needs and interests could be thwarted by bureaucratic procedures, and she considered it important for her to help youngsters "work the system" (TI, 9/9/82, p. 33). For example, when she was approached by a foreign-born student who wanted to know if her younger brother was eligible to enroll at Emerson under the open enrollment policy, Lancaster personally attended to the case throughout a busy morning, because she realized that the youngsters had not been in this country very long, the other junior high did not have a good reputation, and the girl wanted her brother to be at Emerson very badly (TI, 9/9/82, pp. 32-33).

Finally, at the end of the morning, she turned to the little boy, leaned over slightly, held out her hand to him, and said, "You're going to be at Emerson." He solemnly shook her hand and thanked her in a soft voice (FN, 9/9/82, pp. 1-16).

As a result of Lancaster's methods, students perceived her as a fair and helpful administrator and they viewed Emerson as a good school. Students cited many ways in which Lancaster was friendly and caring toward them, and they provided numerous examples of ways in which Lancaster's supervisory tasks were carried out fairly without undue harshness, sternness, or anger. At the end of the year, following the graduation ceremony, Lancaster shared with the observer a note she had received from one of her graduates. The boy expressed his appreciation to Lancaster for all the help she had given him during his three years at Emerson and thanked her for being the best principal he had ever had (SO, 6/16/83, p. 7). These perceptions of Emerson's students are an indicator of the quality of school life that they experienced at the school.

We have argued that this quality was part of the vision of schools that guided Grace Lancaster's leadership. And we have illustrated how her routine actions in regard to students--supervising safety and order and communicating with youngsters--contributed to that quality. However, Lancaster's efforts to shape Emerson into an organization that was responsive to the needs of individuals extended beyond students to include her staff and the community members served by the school as well. As we observed her day-to-day activities and interactions, we became aware of the extent to which her communications with these groups attended to their needs, promoted harmonious relations, and generated high levels of satisfaction with Emerson. (See Figure 5 for distribution of Lancaster's communicating activities.) Therefore, we continue our discussion of Lancaster's influence on climate by looking at her actions concerning staff and community relations.

Lancaster's strategies to develop and maintain positive relations among her staff members have their origins in a belief that she considered important. In her view, "An effective principal builds on the teacher's strengths, and doesn't write him nasty little notes about . . . weakness[es]" (TI, 3/17/82, p. 13). She also believed that staff should enjoy being at school and that she could contribute to such feelings by interacting with them in a nonthreatening and nonauthoritarian manner.

These beliefs did not mean that Lancaster was unaware of, or unconcerned about, teachers' shortcomings. She was well aware which staff members were lazy, uncooperative, and incompetent. But she believed that the best way to work with such people was to build a positive work environment, expose them to new ideas, and allow them freedom of choice. These were all ways of providing support for staff, and Lancaster underscored this important dimension of her work by the many ways in which she

personally communicated interest in staff members and attempted to accommodate their individual needs and concerns.

These two elements of Lancaster's dealings with staff--interest and accommodation--went hand in hand and built upon each other. She communicated her interest in her teachers as individuals through her daily interactions with them, inquiring about a staff member's family or weekend as well as about events as school. This interest not only contributed to building positive relations but also provided Lancaster with information to which she responded on an individual basis. Many examples of such actions have been provided in earlier sections, from Lancaster's organization of the schedule of courses to accommodate individual needs to her obtaining financial help for a student teacher. Thus, Lancaster translated her interest in her staff members' personal lives into decisions and actions that communicated still more emphatically her concern for the well-being of these individuals.

Besides acting on her knowledge of staff members' lives in various ways that supported their needs, Lancaster also used this information to help understand teachers' behavior at school. For example, when a teacher was offended by the tone of a note she had received from her department head, she told Lancaster that their colleague needed to be more diplomatic. In a later conversation about the incident, Lancaster placed this lack of diplomacy into context for the observer, explaining that the department chair was an excellent, hard-working teacher: "School is [this teacher's] life," she said (FN, 10/7/82, p. 25). Lancaster commented that the teacher did not understand how her actions offended her colleagues and cited some of the woman's personal history that may have contributed to her inability to recognize ways in which she offended others (FN, 10/7/82, pp. 25-26).

Lancaster's remarks were not intended to excuse this poor behavior but rather to understand it and to place it in perspective with the positive qualities that the woman brought to her work. By seeking to understand sources of problems, she was better prepared to accept and deal with people's shortcomings. We speculate that this capacity to understand the multiple factors and pressures that contributed to staff members' actions was one quality that enabled Lancaster to develop and maintain positive relations with her staff.

Besides showing interest in her teachers, accommodating their personal needs, and placing their actions in perspective, Lancaster used another communication strategy that we suspect contributed to positive relations with her staff. This was her practice of sharing information with individuals with no apparent intent except to keep them apprised of what was going on in the school and the district. Her conversations with central office staff, for example, were routinely shared with the assistant principals, the secretaries, and teachers, even when the

information was not immediately and directly relevant to them (FN, 6/12/83, pp. 12, 15-16).

While Lancaster's employment of this strategy may not have been a conscious effort on her part to develop cohesion and commitment among Emerson's staff, our observations of the day-to-day exchanges between the principal and her staff led us to believe that this practice was a powerful means by which Lancaster managed to shape school culture and a positive climate at Emerson. These seemingly gratuitous interactions were Lancaster's way of bringing staff members to the "inside" by letting them know what was going on, such as the latest bureaucratic snag at the central office, the most recent problem that she had been asked to deal with, or the most humorous remark made that day by a student. In sharing such information, including her own feelings about these situations, Lancaster was indirectly communicating to staff her own values, beliefs, and goals. These were ways of sharing with others her vision of what Emerson could be and of creating a sense of belonging for others in that enterprise. Such sharing by Lancaster also encouraged others to share their thinking with her.

That Lancaster's efforts were effective in developing positive staff relations was reflected not only by staff members' comments about their principal, their colleagues, and their school, but also by their actions. When the Waverly district announced plans at the end of the school year to reassign principals to new schools, the entire Emerson staff signed a letter to the school board arguing that such a change was unnecessary. Conversations in the staff lunchroom reiterated the arguments. Questions about the advisability of rotating school administrators were directed at the observer, and one teacher made a point of asking if the observer was noting the teachers' responses to the proposed change so that they could be included in this case study (SO, 5/26/83, p. 1). One of the secretaries from the main office said that she would take a year off if Lancaster were replaced, as she did not want to work with someone else. The other secretary said that she thought that teachers and support staff "wouldn't cooperate very well" with a new principal (SO, 5/24/83, p. 3). Both of these women regarded themselves and Lancaster as a team that worked well together and that should not be broken up.

This outpouring of support for Lancaster was a clear indication of the strength of the ties that the principal had established over time with her staff members. Their protest was not simply a matter of concern for themselves at the possiblity of having to work for someone else. They were equally concerned that Lancaster be allowed to spend her remaining years before retirement in the setting that she had worked so hard to shape. They perceived the proposed change as an insult to Lancaster and were relieved when central office staff reversed the decision and allowed Lancaster to remain at Emerson.

In much the same way that Lancaster's concern for the psychological aspect of climate translated into actions aimed at positive relations with students and staff, her concern for Emerson's standing led to a variety of communicating activities that were aimed at maintaining positive relations with the community served by the school. (Refer to Figure 5 for a distribution of Lancaster's communicating activities.) We have already described a number of these actions: handling parents' questions and special requests, managing conferences, and providing tours of campus for prospective students and their parents. Consequences of these actions have also been enumerated: PTA fund raising and support of special school activities, participation of parents and other adults in the rap program for students, and the large number of applications for admission to Emerson under the district's open-enrollment policy.

Lancaster's involvement with community members was likewise grounded in her belief that the school should be "service-oriented." Lancaster did not consider any parent request too small for her own attention. She was as likely to spend time talking to a parent about the advisability of a youngster's riding his bicycle to school as she would discussing a student's grades. Underlying all of her contacts with parents was her desire to communicate that Emerson provided a safe environment where children would receive a good education from caring teachers and administrators.

As we have indicated above, Lancaster's concept of climate encompassed both physical and psychological elements. Many of her routine activities were directed at creating and maintaining a safe and orderly environment at Emerson. Her concerns went beyond safety, however, to include the psychological well-being of her students, and the principal integrated her attention to student affect with her supervisory activities. She also acted to build and maintain positive relations with staff and community.

Throughout the discussion of climate at Emerson, we have attempted to illustrate how Lancaster's vision of schools as service-oriented organizations was translated into a variety of actions and decisions aimed at addressing the particular needs of individuals associated with Emerson. The consequences of these actions were high levels of satisfaction on the part of students, teachers, and community members.

While concern for climate was a central theme in Lancaster's leadership of Emerson, she also devoted a great deal of attention to activities that were more directly associated with the school's instructional program. In the remainder of this section, we discuss the patterns and processes that were aimed at this component of the school organization.

Establishing the Instructional Organization: We have described Emerson's instructional organization at length in previous sections of this case study. Instruction at the school

was organized around subject matter, and a large variety of elective courses, unusual for schools in the Waverly district, was offered. Within academic departments, instruction was only loosely coordinated and controlled. Teachers exercised a great deal of autonomy in their classrooms, and most valued this arrangement, preferring to make their own decisions about matters of curriculum and pedagogy.

The reader will also remember the conditions under which instruction occurred at Emerson: Unanticipated enrollments had resulted in overcrowded classes; financial deficits had created staffing problems and shortages of materials; and reorganization of the central office slowed responses to Lancaster's requests.

Many of Lancaster's actions, therefore, were aimed at setting and maintaining conditions so that instruction could take place. These actions clustered around three types of behaviors aimed at Emerson's work structure: communicating, scheduling/allocating resources/organizing, and monitoring. (Refer to Figures 5, 6, and 7 for distributions of actions related to each of these behaviors.)

Lancaster's most frequent activity in relation to instruction was communicating. She was at the center of an ongoing network in which information about instruction, primarily the logistics of instructional delivery, was exchanged at Emerson. For example, she frequently answered questions for parents, staff, and students about procedures and policies. Questions about enrollment were frequently directed at her. She spent a good deal of time orienting new parents and students to Emerson and answering their questions. Similarly, substitutes and new staff members depended on her for orientation to their assignments. Other staff members approached her with questions about the availability of classroom aides and instructional materials.

Besides responding to such questions and requests concerning instruction, Lancaster was also responsible for communicating between the central office and her staff. Sometimes this meant distributing information about district procedures or policies to Emerson's teachers. At other times, this involved making inquiries of her staff or collecting information from them that had been requested by the district.

Most of Lancaster's communication activities related to the instructional system at Emerson were brief exchanges of information aimed at keeping participants up-to-date on current operations, policies, and procedures. Some of these exchanges were more directly connected to classroom practices than others, such as reminding teachers to include district goals in their statements of objectives and to prepare copies of their homework and grading policies to be sent home. But even these communications were prompted by the need to meet district requirements. Apart from her formal evaluations of teachers, an infrequent activity for Lancaster, the principal's communications

about work at Emerson contained almost no references to curriculum or to classroom practices.

Lancaster's routine actions of scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing relative to instruction at Emerson were again aimed at setting conditions so that teachers and students could carry out their work. She assumed responsibility both for constructing the master schedule of courses each spring and for modifying that schedule in the fall. We have described in an earlier section the complications involved in those tasks. Coordinating space, materials, and staffing for new class sections was a major activity for Lancaster during the first two months of the school year. During this same time, she was also trying to coordinate testing for bilingual students, both within the school and with central office staff, and attempting to secure appropriate bilingual classroom aides for her staff.

The pattern of these tasks was directly related to the annual cycle at Emerson, to the district's staffing practices (discussed earlier), and to the unanticipated enrollment that Lancaster faced when school opened. Despite the concentration of these actions within only a few months of the year, scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing aimed at Emerson's work structure nevertheless represented a sizable proportion (10%) of Lancaster's actions overall.

As with her other activities related to instructional delivery at Emerson, Lancaster's monitoring of the work structure at the school was focused on setting and maintaining conditions under which teaching and learning could take place. Again, this focus was largely the result of the conditions under which Lancaster worked. Checking temporary alternative arrangements for overcrowded classrooms was a regular activity for her during the early weeks of the school year.

Throughout the year, the principal also monitored staff activities: She checked to see that teachers did not dismiss classes early for lunch; she made sure that an assistant principal did not keep a parent waiting; she confirmed that all classrooms were staffed at the start of the day. In one instance, when a substitute teacher was late in arriving at Emerson, Lancaster covered the absent teacher's class for part of the first period, which enabled her to check the teacher's lesson plan and give the teacher some feedback. For the most part, Lancaster's informal monitoring of her staff's teaching occurred in situations such as this which brought Lancaster to a classroom for a brief visit. Only rarely did she drop in on classes simply to visit.

In examining Lancaster's efforts to influence the instructional organization at Emerson, we have argued that she focused on setting and maintaining the physical and logistical conditions for instruction to take place rather than on influencing the content of instruction or classroom practices. To a great extent, this emphasis was determined by a variety of

constraints over which Lancaster had no control: high enrollments, overcrowding, staffing practices, and shortages of instructional materials. Lancaster responded to these contraints by directing many of her activities at Emerson's staff and at the organization of work at the site. There was, however, one other category of activities that Lancaster brought to bear on establishing work conditions at Emerson. This was her communication with the Waverly central office.

In our analysis of principals' actions, we included the central office in the target category of "institutional relations," which covered all other formal organizations with which the principal interacted. For Lancaster, communication with such institutions was a common activity, and most of her interactions in this category were with the various divisions of the large Waverly district office. (Refer to Figure 5 for distribution of Lancaster's communicating activities.)

In general, Lancaster viewed the Waverly district office as an organization suffering from a lack of leadership and as the source of more constraints than opportunities. "In [Waverly], you have to be able to survive in your school site by yourself," she commented (TI, 9/29/82, p. 3). Having worked in the district for many years, she was experienced enough to have developed some strategies for dealing with the central office. As she described herself, "I'm loud and noisy and verbal. . . . I will bug people to try to get what I need for the school." She concluded, however, that this task was becoming "increasingly difficult" (TI, 9/29/82, p. 3).

The difficulty that she expressed was confirmed by our observations of Lancaster's interactions with the central office. Over a period of several months, for example, Lancaster attempted to obtain appropriate bilingual aides for her non-English speaking students. Beginning in September, she placed numerous calls to the central office, trying to determine who had the authority to assign aides to Emerson (FN, 9/20/82, pp. 10-11). In October, Lancaster spoke with another central office staff member and mentioned to the observer that three administrators with whom she had spoken were supposedly helping her get these aides for her school but that no action had been taken (FN, 10/5/82, p. 18). In a visit to the central office in February, Lancaster complained one more time to an assistant superintendent that the situation was still unresolved (FN, 2/24/83, p. 18).

This type of frustration was not unusual. We have described in an earlier section how Lancaster tried one day to obtain assistance from the central office regarding repairs for a piece of audiovisual equipment. District practices with regard to layoff notices in the spring and staffing decisions in the fall have also been described. In all of these situations, Lancaster tried to obtain information and resources only to be thwarted by district paperwork, schedules, policies, or lines of authority.

Despite such frustration, Lancaster remained doggedly determined to move the district's decision makers to act in her favor. She made repeated phone calls and left numerous messages; whenever possible, she tried to establish some personal link with the person to whom she was speaking to solicit their attention to her concerns. Lancaster preferred to do business this way, and she knew that it could be an effective strategy. In a large, urban district such as Waverly, however, changes and reorganization in district staff made it difficult for her to use this preferred mode effectively.

Despite Lancaster's limited success in dealing with the district office, her teachers perceived her as a supportive, helpful, and effective intermediary with the district bureaucracy. A number of their comments have been cited in earlier sections, from applauding her efforts to avoid having certain teachers assigned to Emerson to praising her for getting electrical work completed for the music students' spring production. Emerson's staff also mentioned ways in which Lancaster buffered them from district impositions. One teacher, for example, described how, when the Waverly district had decided several years before to experiment with a new system of attendance reporting, Lancaster had convinced the district office to allow Emerson to be a test case for the old procedures, which had been working well at the school. A year later, according to the teacher, the experiment was abandoned, and Emerson's staff had been saved the trouble of making the change (TI, 5/7/83, pp. 14-15).

This teacher and others described Lancaster as politically astute in her dealings with the Waverly district staff and they valued her skills as an intermediary who would represent their interests. Thus, despite Lancaster's perceptions of the central office as generally unsupportive, and despite the difficulties that she encountered in her dealings with this institution, her staff valued her efforts and perceived her as relatively effective in this domain. They saw her actions as ones that helped them carry out their own work or that saved them from tasks that might interfere with that work. Once again, as with Lancaster's other activities aimed at the work structure, her interactions with the district office helped set conditions for instruction to take place at Emerson.

Conclusion

Our analysis of Grace Lancaster's leadership of Emerson Junior High School has examined her routine behaviors, connected these to the various elements of her organization that she attempted to influence, and discussed the antecedents and consequences of these actions. Despite the large, complex organization with which she was dealing, and regardless of the many difficult conditions over which she had little control, Lancaster's leadership of Emerson was guided by a vision of what a school should be and a number of beliefs about how that vision should be implemented.

Lancaster's view of schools as service-oriented and her belief in the importance of meeting individual needs shaped both the structure of Emerson's regular and extracurricular programs and the processes that operated as work went on in the organization. Much of her attention and activities were aimed at shaping the climate at Emerson, both as an end in itself and as a necessary condition for instruction. The activities that she directed toward the operation of the instructional program were largely aimed at setting conditions that would enable the work of the school to be carried forward under difficult circumstances.

Lancaster used her nonauthoritarian leadership style to create a safe and pleasant environment for staff and students which provided them with opportunities and allowed them to make choices. With great warmth, humor, and care, she attended to the personal needs of colleagues and students, helping them optimize the possibilities for a successful and satisfying experience at Emerson. Many of her colleagues commented that in her years of leadership at Emerson, she had put her personal stamp on the school. During the year we spent with Grace Lancaster at Emerson, we came to appreciate how deeply that stamp had been impressed and how much it was valued by those who experienced it.

REFERENCES

Armor, D., Conry-Oseguera, P., Cox, M., King, N., McDonnell, L., Pascal, A., Pauly, E., & Zellman, G. (1976). Analysis of the school preferred reading program in selected Los Angeles minority schools. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Barnett, B. G., & Filby, N. N. (1984, April). Effects of the presentation of reading materials and instructional pacing on first graders' reading fluency. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Becker, H. S., Greer, B., Hughes, E., & Strauss, A. (1961). Boys in white: Student culture in medical school. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bossert, S. T. (1979). Tasks and social relationships in classrooms. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bossert, S. T., Dwyer, D. C., Rowan, B., & Lee, G. V. (1982). The instructional management role of the principal. Educational Administration Quarterly, 18(3), 34-64.

Bridges, E. M. (1982). Research on the school administrator: The state of the art, 1967-1980. Educational Administration Quarterly, 18(3), 12-33.

Brookover, W. B., Gigliotti, R. J., Henderson, R. P., & Schnieder, J. M. (1973). Elementary school social environments and achievement. East Lansing: College of Urban Development, Michigan State University.

Brookover, W. B., & Lezotte, L. (1977). Schools can make a difference. East Lansing, MI: College of Urban Development, Michigan State University.

Brophy, J. E. (1983). Research on the self-fulfilling prophecy and teacher expectations. Journal of Educational Psychology, 75, 631-661.

Brophy, J. E., & Good, T. L. (1974). Teacher-student relationships: Causes and consequences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Charters, W. W., Jr., & Jones, J. E. (1973). On the risk of appraising non-events in program evaluation. Educational Researcher, 2, 5-7.

Cicourel, A. V., Jennings, K., Jennings, S., Leiter, K., MacKay, R., Mehan, H., & Roth, D. (1974). Language use and school performance. New York: Academic Press.

Dewey, J. (1916). Democracy and education. New York: Macmillan.

Dunkin, M. J., & Biddle, B. J. (1974). The study of teaching. Washington, DC: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Dwyer, D. C. (1984). The search for instructional leadership: Routines and subtleties in the principal's role. Educational Leadership, 41(5), 32-38.

Dwyer, D. C., Lee, G. V., Rowan, B., & Bossert, S. T. (1983). Five principals in action: Perspectives on instructional management. San Francisco, CA: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.

Dwyer, D. C., Smith, L. M., & Prunty, J. (1983). The Kensington school today: Sailing stormy straits, a view of educational policy. In L. M. Smith, D. C. Dwyer, P. Kleine, & J. Prunty, Innovation and change in American education, Kensington revisited: A fifteen-year follow-up of an innovative elementary school and its faculty (Vol. 4). Final report. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Dwyer, D. C., Smith, L. M., Prunty, J. P., & Kleine, P. (In press). The fate of educational innovation: Kensington's first fifteen years. London: Falmer Press.

Edmonds, R. (1979). Some schools work and more can. Social Policy, 9, 28-32.

Filby, N. N., & Barnett, B. G. (1982). Student perceptions of "better readers" in elementary classrooms. Elementary School Journal, 82, 435-449.

Filby, N. N., Barnett, B. G., & Bossert, S. T. (1982, May). Grouping practices and their consequences; some selected findings. Paper presented at the Conference on Student Diversity and the Organization, Processes, and Use of Instructional Groups in the Classroom, Madison, WI.

Firestone, W. A., & Wilson, B. L. (1983). Using bureaucratic and cultural linkages to improve instruction: The high school principal's contribution. Eugene, OR: Center for Educational Policy and Management, College of Education, University of Oregon.

Fuller, B., Wood, K., Rapoport, T., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1981). The organizational context of individual efficacy. Unpublished manuscript. Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, Stanford University.

Getzels, J. W., & Thelen, H. A. (1960). The classroom group as a unique social system. In The fifty-ninth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldhammer, K. (1971). Elementary school principals and their schools. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Press.

Gowin, R. (1981). On educating. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Greenfield, W. D. (1982, March). Empirical research on principals: The state of the art. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York City.

Harris, W. T. (1908). The relation of school discipline to moral education. In National Herbart Society, 3rd Yearbook (pp. 58-72). Chicago.

Homans, G. C. (1950). The human group. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Janis, I. L. (1972). Victims of groupthink: A psychological study of foreign-policy decisions and fiascoes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Little, J. W. (1982). Effective schools: What do we know about what principals do? Boulder, CO: Center for Action Research.

Lortie, D. C. (1975). Schoolteacher: A sociological study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McLaughlin, M. (1984, August). Teacher evaluation and administrator certification. In L. Wagner (Ed.), California State Department of Education program advisory draft.

Martin, W. J., & Willower, D. J. (1981). The managerial behavior of high school principals. Educational Administration Quarterly, 17, 69-90.

Maslow, A. H. (1954). Motivation and personality. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Mayhew, K., & Edwards, A. C. (1936). The Dewey school. New York: Macmillan.

Metz, M. (1978). Classrooms and corridors: The crisis of authority in desegregated secondary schools. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1978). The structure of educational organizations. In M. W. Meyer and Associates (Eds.), Environments and organizations (pp. 78-109). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Morris, V. C., Crowson, R. L., Hurwitz, E., & Porter-Gehrie, C. (1982). The urban principal: Middle manager in the educational bureaucracy. Phi Delta Kappan, 63(10), 689-692.

Morris, V. C., Crowson, R. L., Porter-Gehrie, C., & Hurwitz, E. (1984). Principals in action: The reality of managing schools. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Neill, A. S. (1960). Summerhill: A radical approach to child rearing. New York: Hart.

Newburg, N. A., & Glatthorn, A. A. (1983). Instructional leadership: Four ethnographic studies on junior high school principals. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Perrow, C. (1982, June). Disintegrating social sciences. Phi Delta Kappan, 63(10), 684-688.

Peterson, K. (1978). The principal's task. Administrator's Notebook, 26, 1-4.

Pitner, N. J. (1982). Training of the school administrator: State of the art. Occasional paper. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon, College of Education, R&D Center for Educational Policy and Management.

Rosenblum, S., & Jastrzab, J. (n.d.). The role of the principal in change: The Teacher Corps example. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates.

Rowan, B., Bossert, S. T., & Dwyer, D. C. (1983). Research on effective schools: A cautionary note. Educational Researcher, 12, 24-31.

Showers, B. (1984, October). School improvement through staff development: The coaching of teaching. Resources and Practice, 2(10), pp. 5-6.

Shulman, L. S. (1984, March). A perspective on effective schools. Education Brief, pp. 1-7.

Skinner, B. F. (1948). Walden two. New York: Macmillan.

Smith, L. M. (1978). An evolving logic of participant observation, educational ethnography and other case studies. In L. Shulman (Ed.), Review of research in education. Chicago: Peacock Press.

Smith, L. M., & Geoffrey, W. (1968). The complexities of an urban classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Smith, L. M., & Keith, P. (1971). Anatomy of educational innovation. New York: John Wiley.

Spindler, G. (Ed.). (1982). Doing the ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Sproull, L. (1979). Managing education programs: A micro-behavioral analysis. Unpublished paper.

Tyack, D., & Hansot, E. (1984). Hard times, then and now: Public schools in the 1930s and 1980s. Harvard Educational Review, 54, 33-66.

Venezky, R., & Winfield, L. (1979). Schools that succeed beyond expectations in teaching reading (Technical Report No. 1). Newark, DE: Department of Educational Studies, University of Delaware.

Walker, W. (1932). The sociology of teaching. New York: John Wiley.

Wax, M., Wax, R., & DuMont, R. V., Jr. (1964). Formal education in an American Indian community. Social Problems, 11 (Suppl.), 1-115.

Weber, G. (1971). Inner city children can be taught to read: Four successful schools (Occasional paper no. 18). Washington, DC: Council for Basic Education.

Weick, K. E. (1976, March). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. Administrative Science Quarterly, 21, 1-19.

Wynne, E. A. (1981). Looking at good schools. Phi Delta Kappan, 62(5), 377-381.

Zander, A. (1977). Groups at work. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.